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History of the

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people called Quakers

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A

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

From their first Rise to the present Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and
from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By J O H N G O U G H.

V. 1
VOL. I.

THE
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M.DCC.LXXXIX.

P R E F A C E.

THE people who are the subjects of the ensuing history, beside the great sufferings in person and property they endured at their first appearance, from the spirit of persecution, prevalent in that age, were exposed to another species of persecution in ungenerous attacks upon their reputation, through the misrepresentations of prejudice; the malignity or ignorance of those, who did not love, or those who did not know them; particularly the public preachers of that æra, too many of whom, provoked at their testimony against formality, priestcraft and preaching for hire; from the pulpit, and from the press, published them to the world under very obnoxious descriptions. To these, their regard to the reputation of the truth they professed, in-

P R E F A C E.

THE people who are the subjects of the ensuing history, beside the great influence in power and property they exerted at their first appearance, from the spirit of persecution prevalent in that age were exposed to another species of persecution in numerous attacks upon their reputation through the misrepresentations of prejudiced, the malignity or ignorance of those who did not love, or those who did not know them; perhaps early the public teachers of that era, too many of whom, provoked at their testimony against formally, persisted and preaching for him from the pulpit, and from the press, published them to the world under very objectionable conditions. To these, then, regard to the pervasion of the truth they protected, in-
cluded

duced one or other of them to reply, in defence of themselves and their principles, and it was no difficult task for them to disprove assertions, which had no foundation in fact. They proved themselves to impartial judges guiltless of the charges exhibited against them, and refuted the fabulous invectives of their antagonists, so that few or none of these early calumnies passed unanswered; added to which, the tried innocence and integrity of their lives giving a more convincing refutation, and religious controversy at length going out of fashion, this species of abuse seemed in process of time to die away, and the world in general to look upon them in a more favourable light, not as deceivers, but as men of sincerity, probity and virtue.

Yet some modern authors of reputation in the learned world have thought it worth their while to revive long refuted calumnies, and debase the page of history with a delineation of this people, copied from the distorted caricatures of their bitterest antagonists; the consideration whereof pointed out the propriety of a new review of their real history, drawn from authentic memoirs, and genuine records, preserved in their own archives; that

that by comparing their own accounts of themselves, with those of their adversaries, a more impartial judgment may be formed of their real character: That as these authors, particularly Mosheim, and Formey after him, have not thought it beneath them to draw from oblivion, long refuted and long forgotten misrepresentations of men of worth (if solid virtue, and real religion are considered as constituent parts of worth) an attempt to rescue deserving characters, worthy of imitation in the general tenour of their lives, from the contempt and censure endeavoured to be thrown upon them, seems an act of justice, not only to them, but to the world at large.

Incited by these considerations, the compiler of the ensuing sheets hath not been discouraged by the prospect of the laborious undertaking, the scantiness of his leisure, nor his advanced stage in life, from engaging in the business of collecting and digesting the materials preserved by them, in the following history; and although the like laborious task hath before employed the pen of William Sewel, yet fresh occasion being offered, seemed to demand a fresh revival of the real history of this people: In the prosecution

secution whereof, I propose to lay before the reader my objections to those passages, which we consider as misrepresentations, partly in notes, as occasion arises from my subject, and partly in an appendix to the history, if my life and health shall be prolonged to bring it to a conclusion, towards which it is already considerably advanced.

The reader is not to expect, in the history of this pacific body to meet with a recital of those splendid actions, or schemes of policy, which are apt to dazzle the eyes of mankind, while they generally contribute very little to the felicity of the greater part, are often productive of great damage and destruction to many; and the happiness they convey to individuals, in the splendour of a name, is but a poor recompense for the mischief they occasion, and but of short duration: But what is of much more importance to the generality of the human race, he will meet with many examples (worthy of imitation) of steadfast resolution and inflexible perseverance in prosecuting through life the great end of our being, happiness in a future state. But few men have the ability, the power or opportunity of conquering nations or governing

governing kingdoms ; but all men have immortal souls to be saved or lost, in consequence of the manner of passing the time of their sojourning here.

For this reason I have been more particular in the biography, in the accounts I have collected of the lives and deaths of several of the most serviceable members of this society, with design to point out the beneficial effects of a life of pure religion and virtue at that solemn period, which mocks the splendour of triumphs, and lays human honours in the dust ; more with a view to inspire their survivors with a desire of copying their virtues, than to build the tombs of the prophets, or garnish the sepulchres of the righteous.

I foresee an objection may possibly be made to the partiality of this history, as being taken from the memoirs and records of the people whose history it is. In many cases, and this in particular, no other authentic records can be met with, but what are preserved amongst the people themselves ; notwithstanding which, histories founded on such records, have obtained a reception ; whilst those founded on public rumour or uncertain

tain and obscure tradition obtain but little credit. Who that hath read Moses's plain account of the descendants of Israel, regards the fabulous narrative of Justin? If we had no accounts of the primitive Christians but in the works of the Gentiles, would not christianity itself be contemptible, as well as Quakerism so called? But with us who are favoured with the writings of the evangelists, the acts of the apostles, and other records of the primitive Christians themselves, the Gentile descriptions of them are thought worthy of little regard. Societies whose virtues have been more active in private life than in the bustles and notoriety of public affairs, escape the public attention, so far, as to leave few genuine records of transactions in which they are engaged, except such as are preserved amongst themselves.

The authorities I have chiefly followed are William Sewel's history of this people, compared with Joseph Bessie's collection of their sufferings; in the compilation whereof he informs us he "had recourse
" to their own manuscript records, where-
" in is preserved a genuine account of
" such of the sufferings of their friends
" as were transmitted to them; and also
" consulted

“consulted several printed accounts, which
“were published at or near the time of
“the transactions related.” I have been
further assisted by the perusal of the journals of several members of this society, who have left us memoirs of their lives and travels, and of the transactions in which they were engaged: For the account of the settlement of this people in Pennsylvania and some other parts of America, I am much indebted to the assistance of my esteemed friend James Pemberton, and some other friends of Philadelphia, who with singular industry, have procured and furnished me with a transcript of their history in manuscript, drawn up by *Samuel Smith*, but never published; and other authentic manuscripts.

In fine, if I have succeeded in my endeavours, to avail myself of the materials in my hands, so judiciously as to answer the expectations of my friends in a tolerable degree, and to convey some satisfaction and profitable reflection to the readers in general, my design in undertaking this work will not be entirely frustrated: If otherwise, I hope I shall rest satisfied in the conscious reflection of endeavouring to be of some usefulness in
life,

P R E F A C E .

life, to dedicate a portion of my time to the service of society, and to promote religious consideration in an age too much relaxed by dissipation, by levity of conduct, by spiritual indolence, and great forgetfulness of the concerns of their immortal part.

ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR antient friend William Penn (for whose writings I have a high esteem) having given us a concise recital of the various religious dispensations, and of various professions of christianity, preceding that to which the contemptuous denomination of Quakers was affixed, in his introduction to *the Rise and Progress of that People*, I thought at first I could not chuse a more suitable introduction to the ensuing history than that, enlarged with explanatory and historical notes: But on further consideration, the mode I have adopted seemed more eligible. I have kept his said introduction in my eye: but have preferred a paraphrase, before a literal transcript with notes, as exhibiting one continued narration, without the frequent breaks, which the other method must necessarily occasion.

INTRODUCTION.

S E C T. I.

Of the different Dispensations, or Means whereby God hath condescended to reveal the Knowledge of himself and his Will to Mankind.

THE universal consent of all nations S E C T. I. hath been advanced as a proof of the Being of a God: That in almost all ages and places of the world, the inhabitants had some notions of a Supreme Being; some way of worship; and some sense of religion amongst them: But the various erroneous notions, imperfect conceptions and absurd fictions, concerning the supreme Being, that religion which recommended man to his favour, and that worship which he required at his hand, which have been adopted by all nations whether civilized or not, the Greeks no less than the Barbarians, amount to a presumptive proof of the advantage and necessity of a divine revelation, to rescue men from error, to illuminate their dark understand-

SECT. I. ings, and to convey more just notions of God, of true religion, and acceptable worship. Proving the truth of the apostle's reasoning, 1 Cor. ii. 11, 14. *"What man knoweth the things of a man, save the Spirit of man, that is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. The natural man knoweth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them; because they are spiritually discerned."*

The Creator of man, in his unsearchable wisdom, hath chosen different means by which to reveal this knowledge of himself to different ages of the world: First (according to scripture testimony) to the Patriarchs by Angels; next to the Jews by the Law of Moses. "This dispensation," saith William Penn, "was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state, called therefore by the apostle Paul that of a School-master, which was to prepare the people to look and long for the MESSIAH to deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, being only the shadow of good things to come, by discovering to them the knowledge of the reality and substance of pure religion, typified by the shadowy ceremonies of the law."

W. Penn's
rise and
progress,
&c.

The ministration of the prophets was the summit of the legal dispensation, and more immediately preparatory to the introduction

roduction of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, ^{SECT. I.}
 as more clearly pointing out its nature and advantages above the dispensation of the law; and preparing that people for the reception thereof, by representing the legal ceremonies ineffectual to please God, without ceasing to do evil and learning to do well. This dispensation ended in the ministration of John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Messiah, as John's was finished in him, the fulness of all.

Now God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake to their fathers by his servants the Prophets, spake to men by his son, whom he made heir of all things. And the religion, which this teacher came from heaven introduced, excelled every other, as far as the divine author excelled the sons of men. I should think it bordering on blasphemy to bring into any comparison with it, the vanities of the Gentiles, who knew not God: But a short view thereof, compared with the Mosaic dispensation, may conduce to the elucidation of its superior excellency.

The law of Moses was an outward and partial law, written on tables of stone; the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ was an inward and universal law, written on the living tables of the hearts of men. The dispensation of the Gospel being the new covenant prophesied of by Jeremiah: "And it shall come to pass in Jer. xxxi.

SECT. " the last days, saith the Lord, that I will
 I. " make a *new Covenant* with the house of
 " Israel and with the house of Judah—I
 " will write my law in their hearts, and
 " put my spirit in their inward parts," &c.

Under the legal dispensation the worship of God was more particularly restricted to the temple at Jerusalem built of stone; but this restricted worship was abolished under the universal Gospel of Jesus Christ, being to be no longer confined to time or place; neither to Jerusalem, nor to the mountain of Samaria; but the true worship of God was to be performed in spirit and in truth. God was now declared not to dwell in temples made with hands, but in the living temples of the purified hearts of true believers. The law of Moses as an outward law reached the outward action; the Gospel of Christ as a spiritual dispensation laid the axe to the root of the corrupt tree, to manifest and destroy sin in its first conception in the heart, in the root and ground thereof: " His fan is in his hand," said John, " and he will thoroughly purge his floor." The law of Moses made not the comers thereunto perfect as pertaining to the conscience; but the bringing in of a better hope did. The inside of the cup and platter was to be cleansed, that the outside might be clean also. Thus the Gospel appears in its direct tendency


dency designed to rectify the heart, and SECT.
I.
purify the conscience from the corruptions
of human nature, that the efficient cause
of sin and evil being destroyed, the effect
may cease; and the tree being made good,
the fruit thereof may be good also, that
is if the heart be made right in the sight
of God, the whole conversation of conse-
quence will be unspotted, and productive
of every religious, social and moral vir-
tue.

Thus the Christian religion in its origi-
nal purity, as it was delivered to the
world by its divine author and his
apostles, carrieth in it the plain marks of
its divine origin; as being calculated to
answer the important ends of true reli-
gion, according to the prophetic anthem
of the heavenly host, in the prospect of
the great benefits it would confer on the
human race, *Glory to God in the highest;
on earth peace, good will to men.* It is
plain, practical and spiritual; not a system
of nice speculations, accommodated only
to the understandings of the narrow circle
of the wise and the learned of this world;
but of important and practical truths
adapted to the comprehension of common
capacities, as being designed for the com-
mon benefit of mankind; not amuse the
heads, but to amend the hearts of men;
To instruct all who are sincere in their
enquiry after salvation, in the most ex-
cellent


SECT. cellent wisdom, and most solid virtue, for
 I. the attainment thereof. It abolished the
 ceremonial part of the law, which was to
 continue but for a season, refineth and
 establissheth the moral part, as being in its
 nature of perpetual obligation, resolving
 it into two very comprehensive, but very
 intelligible precepts, viz. "Thou shalt
 "love the Lord thy God with all thy
 "heart, with all thy soul, with all thy
 "mind, and with all thy strength, and
 "thy neighbour as thy self." "Whatso-
 "ever ye would that men should do to
 "you, do ye even so unto them."

Notwithstanding the evident importance
 and advantages of the doctrines of the
 Gospel, the propensities of human nature
 inclining men to sensual gratifications, and
 selfish indulgencies, in a direct opposition
 to the tenour of these doctrines, He, who
 knoweth all things, knowing this, lays it
 down as a radical principle requisite in a
 Christian, *to take up his cross daily, deny
 himself, and follow him.* And for his di-
 rection and assistance in reducing this doc-
 trine to practice, hath, by his mediation
 and intercession, procured for him the
 Gift of the Holy Spirit and Grace of God,
 both to illuminate his darkened under-
 standing with the clear discovery of sin
 and evil, in its conception in the heart;
 and to assist him to subdue his natural

Johni. 17. propensity thereto. "The Law was given
 " by

“ by Moses ; but Grace and Truth came SECT. I.
 “ by Jesus Christ.” “ If I go not away, 
 “ the Comforter will not come ; but if I John xiv.
 “ go away, I will pray the Father, and 17.
 “ he will send you another Comforter,
 “ even the Spirit of Truth, whom the
 “ world cannot receive, because it seeth
 “ him not, neither knoweth him ; but ye xv. 13.
 “ know him, for he is with you and shall
 “ be *in* you.” “ When the Spirit of
 “ Truth is come he will guide you into all
 “ truth.”

To these great and beneficial ends of the dispensation of the Son of God did the Apostles bear testimony, whom he had chosen, and qualified by his spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to the light and spirit of Christ, that they might be quickened from the sins and transgressions in which they were dead, to serve the Lord in the newness of the spirit of life. It was upon this inward principle, which cleanses the inside by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, that they endeavoured to build up and establish the primitive believers, as the surest foundation of real piety and moral rectitude. The primitive Christians were of consequence eminently distinguished for a purity and integrity of life, representing the essence of Christianity not to consist

SECT. ^{I.}  sist in refined speculation or elegant expression, but in living well, exemplifying their faith in Christ by an uniform observance of his divine precepts; and approving themselves (by walking in the light) children of the light, born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God, by doing his will, and denying their own.

Through the successful and effectual labours of the Apostles the Church maintained her brightness during their age, being dignified with all the beauty of holiness, as a city set upon a hill her light shed a lustre, attracting both Jews and Gentiles to the sense and love of truth; the multitude of Christians increased greatly. Yet even during that age some symptoms of declension were discovered, of which these faithful pastors were not wanting to give timely warning to the believers, as well as of a greater degeneracy, which they foresaw would overspread the Church to eclipse the brightness thereof. As the Apostle Paul,

^{1 Tim. iv.} in his first epistle to Timothy, " Now the
^{1, 2, 3.} " spirit speaketh expressly, that in the
 " latter times some shall depart from the
 " faith, giving heed to seducing spirits
 " and doctrines of devils; speaking lies
 " in hypocrisy, having their consciences
 " seared, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." And
 in

INTRODUCTION.

9

in his epistle to the Theſſalonians, cau-^{SECT.}
tioning them not to be troubled, as if the ^{I.}
day of the Lord was at hand, he adds,
“ That day ſhall not come, except there ^{2 Theſſ.}
“ come a falling away firſt, and the man ^{ii. 3.}
“ of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdi-
“ tion.” The apoſtle Peter alſo expreſſeth
a clear foreſight of a future apoſtacy:
“ There were falſe prophets among the ^{2 Pet. ii.}
“ people, even as there ſhall be falſe teach- ^{1. 3.}
“ ers among you, who privily ſhall bring
“ in damnable hereſies, even denying the
“ Lord that bought them, and bring
“ upon themſelves ſwift deſtruction; and
“ through covetouſneſs ſhall they with
“ feigned words make merchandize of
“ you.”

S E C T. II.

*Of the gradual Declenſion and Apoſtacy of the
profefſed and viſible Church.*

THESE predictions were ſoon verified ^{SECT.}
by the conſequential degeneracy of the ^{II.}
Chriſtian Church, from the internal life of
godlineſs into external obſervations of
days and meats; into uſeleſs ceremonies
and unimportant debates. As early as the
ſecond century we find the churches of
the Eaſt and Weſt involved in a warm
diſpute

SECT. II. dispute upon a point of no greater consequence than whether Easter should be celebrated on the day whereon the Jews celebrated the passover, according to the law of Moses, or on the first day of the succeeding week. Trivoltous as the subject of this controversy was, it was carried on with as much zeal and earnestness as if the present and future happiness of mankind depended thereupon; and so great was the animosity it occasioned, that Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate, the Asiatic churches, because they dissented from his decision.

The fourth century produced a revolution in the Christian Church which, in its consequences, brought on an almost total reverse to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the doctrines of his apostles. Constantine, emperor of Rome, embraced the profession of Christianity, whereby that profession, from an object of persecution, aversion and contempt, became the religion in vogue. The Gentile priests, and people of course, adopted this profession, not so much from a conscientious conviction of the truth and purity thereof, as from the frivolous motive of complying with the fashion, or the more unchristian motives of securing and advancing their secular interests, or gratifying their lust of power. These pagan priests, accustomed

tomed to a ceremonious and pompous religion, introduced the impure mixture into the Christian Church, before too much declined: But from this period corruption overspread to an extensive degree. "An attachment to heathenish and "jewish ceremonies, the introduction of "images into the public places of worship, the canonizing and invoking of "saints," and reversing Christianity into idolatry, from which it is most abhorrent, are flagrant instances that Christianity, thus metamorphosed, had no title to the character of the Church of Christ, being in its spirit and tendency the very reverse thereof.

Yet though the visible church had lost W. Penn. the nature, she endeavoured to keep up her good name of *The True Church*, and mother of the faithful. Her bishops and priests having, many of them, adopted the profession of Christianity from worldly motives, manifested their conversion to be only in name, their minds remained worldly still. They were more intent upon recommending worship by ostentatious pomp and splendour, to catch the eyes of men, than the humility and sincerity of heart, which in the church's original state of purity had made it acceptable to God. What now continued to be professed for the Christian religion degenerated into form, and even that form became

SECT. II. became exceedingly marred by the introduction of unedifying ceremonies and insignificant observations. Then human invention took the seat of divine wisdom, human policy was substituted for divine Grace, the ordination of men in the stead of the call of the Holy Ghost, and temporal revenues, powers and honours became more sought after than divine favour.

Not very long after another incident succeeded, which encreased the degeneracy and distractions of the visible church, viz. the irruption of the northern nations of Europe into the Roman empire, marking their progress with desolation and destruction by fire and sword wherever they came; perfect strangers to decorum and civilization, what religion they had was idolatry of the grossest kind, or a profession of Christianity little better; Idolatry, paganism and gross ignorance again overspread all Europe, and for a season overran the nations thereof, so that even the name and profession of Christianity became greatly obscured. After the Goths and Vandals, and the other northern invaders, had subdued all opposition, they settled down quietly in their conquests, having left no enemy able to withstand or oppose them; and by this means the states returning to a settlement, though an imperfect one, the monks and other

other ecclesiastics, about the seventh cen-^{SECT.}
 tury, employed themselves zealously to ^{II.}
 convert these pagan nations to the pro-
 fession of Christianity, and met with con-
 siderable success; but the doctrines which
 they taught, and the ends which they had
 in view, were very different from the pu-
 rity of the apostolick age, the heavenly
 doctrines of Christianity being vastly cor-
 rupted by the impure mixture of super-
 stition; and the end in view being the
 advancement of clerical interest and pow-
 er, they chiefly influenced their converts
 to submission to the power of the Pope,
 and liberality to the priesthood.

The effect of their labours, and the ^{Robert-}
 temper of their converts, as they are de-^{son.}
 scribed by an eminent historian, evince
 the nature of their doctrines: " The bar-
 " barous nations, when converted to
 " Christianity, changed the object, not
 " the spirit of their religious worship.
 " They endeavoured to conciliate the fa-
 " vour of the true God by means not
 " unlike to those they had employed to
 " appease their false deities. Instead of
 " aspiring to sanctity and virtue, which
 " alone can render men acceptable to the
 " great author of order and excellence,
 " they imagined they satisfied every obli-
 " gation of duty by a scrupulous obser-
 " vance of external ceremonies. Religion,
 " according to their conception of it, com-
 prehended

SECT. "prehended nothing else; and the rites
 II. "by which they persuaded themselves
 "they could gain the favour of heaven,
 "were of such a nature as might have
 "been expected from the rude ideas of
 "the ages which devised and introduced
 "them. They were either so unmeaning
 "as to be altogether unworthy of the Di-
 "vine Being to whose honour they were
 "consecrated, or so absurd as to be a dis-
 "grace to reason and humanity."

This was another revolution in the vi-
 sible church, which encreased her degener-
 acy, eclipsed her beauty, and established
 a kingdom of priests. These barbarians,
 grossly ignorant themselves, destroyed the
 monuments of literature and science in
 their way, as objects of little value with
 them, and introduced a general barbarity
 wherever they settled: "The human
 "mind, uncultivated and depressed, sunk
 "into profound ignorance." In this age
 of intellectual darkness, the brightness of
 the christian religion suffered an additi-
 onal eclipse, for "although its precepts are
 "delivered in scripture with a precision
 "which should prevent their being wrested
 "or corrupted," yet a body of men, who
 from the highest to the lowest could few
 of them write or read, could draw no
 intelligence of duty from that fountain,
 but simply rested upon the word of the
 priest for instruction. And notwithstanding

ing the priests were, for the most part, SECT.
II. involved in the general gloom and ignorance, insomuch that many of them did not understand the breviary they were obliged daily to recite, and several of them could not read it, they had nevertheless the craft to avail themselves of the ignorance and prejudices of the people, to procure the guidance of their consciences, emoluments and power to their own order, and a superstitious veneration to their persons.

From this time ecclesiastical history (too much sullied before) becomes deformed with instances of ambition, avarice, political intrigues, persecution, cruelty and revenge, (qualities diametrically opposite to the purity and nature of Christianity) in an equal or superior degree to the annals of most secular kingdoms. “The Formey. bishops in general, who had the chief authority in church affairs, had, for a succession of ages, lost daily more and more the proper qualifications of overseers in the Church of Christ, true piety and ancient simplicity of manners; and were so taken up with the desire of enlarging their pretensions and prerogatives, that the promotion of pure religion, or the salvation of those souls committed to their charge, seems to have been the least of their concern. Nor were they content with grasping
“most

SECT.

II.



“ most or all the power and possessions of
 “ their respective sees into their own
 “ hands, but by the impulse of their un-
 “ bounded ambition they entered into
 “ shameful and unchristian contentions
 “ with each other for pre-eminence in
 “ dignity, and supremacy in power.”

Formey.

“ The sees of Alexandria, Rome and
 “ Constantinople became, in a short time
 “ after Constantine’s public profession of
 “ the Christian faith, possessed of so much
 “ power and wealth, that to gain posses-
 “ sion of them engaged the emulous ef-
 “ forts of the principal ecclesiastics ; and
 “ the means employed to attain their de-
 “ sire were as irreconcilable to the pure
 “ principles of Christianity as the object
 “ thereof, being frequently pursued by
 “ indirect means, frequently by violence
 “ and force of arms. And in a like man-
 “ ner they possessed them in too general a
 “ way, living on the spoil of the churches
 “ in splendor and luxury, inconsistent with
 “ the humility and temperance prescribed
 “ by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”

The bishops of Rome, through the fa-
 vour and assistance of the western poten-
 tates, succeeded at length in the struggle
 for supremacy, in claiming and procuring
 to themselves the titles of *Universal Bishop*,
Vicar of Jesus Christ, and *Infallible Head of*
the Church. These claims, chimerical in
 themselves, and quite opposite to the ge-
 nius

nus of the Christian religion, could hardly have been advanced with any reasonable prospect of establishing them, but in such an age of gross ignorance and credulity as this: Yet on these visionary foundations the ecclesiasticks found means to raise a superstructure of priestly dominion, which not only gave to the papal decrees a sanction and obedience from all degrees of people, as divine and infallible oracles, but made even kings and emperors feel the effects of the plenitude of that power, which they had artfully established over the consciences and understandings of mankind.

SECT.
II.

Splendour and magnificence, the attendants of ambition, are generally the parents of avarice, as they create many unnecessary wants, and much superfluity of expence; the clergy, therefore, were not wanting to turn the influence they had acquired to their own secular advantage, by a continual augmentation of their property as well as their power. In the primitive church, as in all visible societies, it was necessary to raise some contributions for the public uses of the church, of which the support of the poor, and the public edifices, seem to be the principal part: These contributions were purely voluntary, and the distribution thereof entrusted to the deacons, the apostles having assigned this charge to them. And as they were

SECT. content with food and raiment, their de-
 II. mands upon the public stock were pro-
 portionably moderate, if any, Their prin-
 cipal concern was to gain souls to Christ,
 not to extort or secure property to them-
 selves. They sought not theirs, but them.

Foster in The church continued for some ages to
 reply to defray the necessary expences, by the vo-
 the Bishop luntary contributions of its members, and
 of Lon- while she was under a state of suffering
 don's Co- and persecution it is natural to suppose
 dex. she was preserved in humility and heavenly
 mindedness: for what could nourish pride
 in men treated with universal contempt
 and hatred, as the scum and off-scouring
 of all things? what temptation could they
 have to enlarge their worldly prospects,
 who lived every hour in jeopardy? or
 what could support them under the cruel
 persecutions they were exposed to, or ena-
 ble them, in testimony to the truth in
 which they most surely believed, to meet
 a violent death in all its terrors and tor-
 tures with calm fortitude and religious joy,
 but a mind redeemed from the earth, and
 panting for the full fruition of happiness
 in a future state? This temper of mind
 reduced their wants within narrow limits,
 which were easily satisfied: And being
 connected in gospel fellowship by the strong
 bonds of mutual benevolence and bro-
 therly kindness, they who had to spare
 communicated to the wants of the church

and

and of their brethren, according to their SECT.
abilities with liberality. II.

But when Christianity, from a state of persecution became the reigning religion of the empire, and the church was enriched with secular possessions; when princes and nobles had adopted the Christian profession, and a notion was artfully propagated, that munificence to the church would atone for sin, and purchase future felicity, and the great found it easier to give freely than live well, her possessions vastly encreased by donations of lands, and pecuniary oblations: But as her portion encreased, her beauty decayed. They whose office should have been exercised, after the original pattern, in diligent labour and vigilance to prevent the introduction, and overspreading of corruption in the church, became no less conspicuous for their avarice than their ambition. The bishops, as it might seem, in order to Foster. get the revenues of the church into their possession, relieved the deacons from the charge of the administration, and took it upon themselves. When the bishops of Rome, assuming the title of Universal Bishop, affected the state of secular princes, they soon found means to appropriate the lands of the church of Rome to the see. Other bishops soon followed their example, and engrossed to themselves the patrimony of the churches under their
B 2 care,

SECT. II. care, of consequence, the poor and other necessary charges of the church, were but scantily provided for.

Amongst the rest the inferior orders of the clergy, who were dependent on the bishops, had been destitute of support by other means, than their portion of the income of the church lands. It seemed necessary to devise means for their support, independent of this income, and with that view they cast their eyes upon the tithe of the produce of lands, after the Jewish model; these were accordingly preached up with remarkable zeal: "So
 Hume. " that during some centuries (saith a modern historian) the whole scope of homilies and sermons was directed to influence the people to punctuality in paying them; and one would have imagined, from the general tenor of these discourses, that all the practical parts of Christianity were comprehended in the exact and faithful payment of tithes to the clergy." In addition to this extensive revenue, various other pretexts were contrived to encrease it still more: Purgatory, penance, dispensations, indulgences, were crafty impositions upon the credulity of these dark ages to extort gain to the priesthood: The living were deceived into liberality; and the dying, in their weakest moments of despondency and approaching dissolution, were beset by designing

signing ecclesiastics; to obtain bequests SECT.
II.
under the notion of purchasing a communion of the good works of the church, in order to encrease the estate and revenue thereof.

About the end of the thirteenth century the apostacy was come to the height. There appeared little in the professing Christian church which bare any resemblance to the religion of Christ and his apostles. The holy scriptures being locked up in an unknown tongue, beyond the comprehension of the ignorant people of this illiterate age, they were deprived of these means of discovering the traces of pure Christianity; and the corruptions which had crept into the church. They had no means of knowing what Christianity was but through the corrupt representations of their teachers. The rules of their conduct were not the sacred precepts of the Gospel, but the decrees of Popes; and innovations, and unmeaning fancies of visionary Monks; which, instead of promoting the true spirit of religion, appear studiously calculated to draw off the human mind from researches of this nature, as such enquiries must have a tendency to detect the deceptions of these (apparently pious) impostors.

Yet as in the purest ages of the church there were some members who were not sincere and steadfast in the faith, or fell
away

SECT. II. away therefrom, so in the most corrupted state thereof, I believe, there were several who, through all the mist of ignorance and superstition, were faithful according to their knowledge, and sincerely disposed to do the will of God, as far as they could discover it; but being few were hidden and obscure. "For it was now," faith William Penn, "the true church fled into the wilderness, that is from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary and lonely state, hidden, and out of the sight of men. In this state many attempts she made to return, but the waters yet too high blocked up her way, and many of her excellent children in several nations fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth."

Rise and
Progress.

S E C T. III.

Of the gradual Advancement of the Reformation.

SECT. III. EVEN during these ages of gross darkness there arose a few individuals endued with light and sense to discern the enormities abounding in the church, fortitude to bear their testimony against them, and fidelity to seal their testimony with their

their blood. For the general darkness was S E C T.
III.
 too gross as yet to admit a full display of light, and the dominion of priestcraft over the consciences of the people so riveted, and its power so firmly fixed, that every attempt to remonstrate against corruption, and to let light into the minds of the people, whereby the sources of the wealth and power of the priesthood might be in danger of being exhausted, was frustrate, and generally terminated in the punishment of those who made such attempts with death. For the visible church of those ages, that she might manifest her variance with the true church of Christ in all her fruits, in her treatment of those who opposed her doctrines, or exposed the futility of her claims, gave a scope to her vindictive resentments in the exercise of unparalleled cruelty, not only opposite to the meekness and forbearance prescribed by the doctrines of the gospel, but disgusting to the feelings of common humanity.

In the 12th century Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, about the year 1140, applying himself to the study of the scriptures, and finding therein no grounds for several of the popish doctrines and practices, publicly opposed them. He translated the scriptures into the vulgar language, and from them taught and inculcated a doctrine much more conformable

SECT. ble to the gospel of Christ than that pro-
 III. fessed in the Roman church. His fol-
 lowers were denominated Vaudois or Wal-
 denfes. In the fame century arofe ano-
 ther body of men of like sentiments, who
 alfo perceiving the palpable errors and
 shameful vices of the Romanists, thought
 it their duty to feperate from their com-
 munion, and to exert their endeavours
 for a reformation. Thefe were the Albi-
 genfes, who were fo named from Albi, a
 confiderable town, of Languedoc, near
 which Peter and Henry Bruys, the firft
 preachers of this feft, formed their affem-
 blies.

The popes and the clergy, having long
 enjoyed an uninterrupted dominion over
 the confciences of mankind, as far as their
 power extended, and ftopped up the ave-
 nues of free enquiry, by implanting in
 the human mind an implicit trust in their
 doctrines and decrees, were very much
 alarmed and exasperated at thefe efforts to
 caft off the yoke, and unveil the mystery
 of iniquity. And accordingly made thefe
 Vaudois and Albigenfes feel the weight of
 their resentment in all its ftrength and
 violence. Moft of their teachers were
 dragged to the ftake; and it was only the
 encreasing number and power of their ad-
 herents, rendering them formidable, which
 for the prefent refcued them from fharing
 the fame fate.

But

But in the succeeding century, under SECT.
III. the despotic papacy of Innocent III. whose haughtiness made kings and emperors submit to his imperious sway, a cruel and bloody war, to which the blasphemous appellation of the *Holy War* was affixed, in order to enflame and deceive the people, was raised and carried on by the instigation of the pope and his dependant ecclesiastics, who called in the force of arms against these Vaudois and Albigenses to gratify their implacable aversion; They invited the princes to assist them, particularly Philip Augustus, King of France. They raised numerous troops, who, set up the cross*, indulgences were freely

* The Cross was the badge worn by those who engaged in the Crusades, or wars undertaken against the infidels to dispossess them of the Holy Land (so called). These wars were termed *holy*, and those who engaged in them (besides many other privileges) were persuaded that they were engaged in the cause of heaven, and under its immediate protection: They received a plenary indulgence for the remission of all their sins, &c. In imitation of these appendages of the Crusades, those of this war were assumed; to fix an impression on the minds of the men employed therein, that they were embarked in a sacred cause; that their exertions therein would atone for their sins, and that the gates of heaven were open to such as should fall in the holy warfare. By such artifices the Pope and his Clergy raised armies in their cause, regardless of the guilt of sanctifying the most flagitious crimes, under colour of means to obtain eternal happiness. Formey writes, "Amongst the most zealous promoters of this war, called *HOLY*, but that in reality was most execrable, we find Dominick Guzman a Spaniard, who founded the order of Preachers called Dominicans, and contrived the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition: And Francis of Assises, who, about the same time, gave

SECT. freely given, and the war was carried on
 III. with cruelty almost unequalled, in order
 to effect the entire extirpation of these
 sects: But they failed of accomplishing
 this design; for their barbarous treatment
 of such of the Vaudois as fell into their
 hands struck the rest with such horror,
 that when they were reduced by war, so
 as to be unequal to further resistance,
 they avoided the tortures designed for them,
 by dispersing, and spreading themselves
 and their tenets in different parts of Eu-
 rope, Divine Providence so ordering it,
 that by these means the seeds of the refor-
 mation were widely scattered.

The next essay towards a reformation,
 which claims our attention, took its rise in
 England, through divine goodness one of
 the first states of Europe favoured with the
 dawn of the light of reformation. John
 Wickliffe, rector of Lutterworth in Lei-
 cestershire, lived in the latter end of the
 reign of Edward III. and the beginning
 of that of Richard II. about 130 years
 before Luther, a man of good understand-
 ing, great courage, and solid piety. The
 doctrine he publicly preached was di-
 rectly opposite to the received notions.

Formey.

“gave rise to the order of Minorites or Franciscans. These
 “two men were afterwards ranked by the Catholics in the
 “number of their Saints, and not undeservedly, if themost
 “bloody fury, and the most extravagant notions, could give
 “them a right to sanctity.”

He particularly insisted on the vices of ^{SECT.} the priests, the tyranny of the court of ^{III.} Rome, and the insatiable avarice of the monks, who invaded every thing; and persevered with great zeal and intrepidity to oppose superstition and unmask hypocrisy. Being appointed by Edward III. one of the members of an embassy sent in 1373 to Pope Gregory at Avignon, to remonstrate against the heavy taxes with which England was burthened by the popes, he was furnished with an opportunity of seeing the papal court, observing the nature of its policy, and the licentiousness of its morals, at which he conceived much disgust, persuading himself it was the see of Antichrist.

He applied himself with diligence to the study of the sacred writings, and was the first who translated them into English. From this source drawing purer instruction concerning the nature and spirit of the Christian religion than that which was conveyed through the vitiated channel of the clerical doctrines and expositions of those times, he clearly perceived the nullity of various papal pretensions; that the Pope had no valid claim to infallibility; that the power he had assumed over all the church, and over the princes of Christendom, was a mere groundless imposition, without authority from reason or revelation. ... He opposed the worshipping of

SECT. of saints and images, indulgences, the ce-
 III. libacy of the clergy, the doctrines of
 transubstantiation, and auricular confession. He maintained that the New Testament was a perfect rule of faith and manners, and therefore ought not to be kept from the people, but divulged amongst them that they might read it; and that tithes were pure alms, which should not be extorted by compulsion, but accepted as the voluntary oblations of the donor. His doctrines thus derived from the same original, viz. the scriptures, and the practice of the primitive church, are represented to be nearly the same with those propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century.

Notwithstanding this bold and open opposition to doctrines and practices, which had passed for certain and reasonable, and received the sanction of the assent and approbation of several ages, this reformer was favoured beyond the preceding reformers, to escape the punishment of his heresy, as it was termed, and died of a stroke of the palsy in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth. This was not owing to any relenting temper or tenderness in the ecclesiastics; They wanted power more than inclination to punish the man who had the audacity to undermine their credit and authority. It was a great mortification to them that he had escaped their

their vengeance while living, which they S E C T.
wreaked upon his memory and reputation III.
after his death, blasphemously and mali-
ciously asserting that he was gone into
eternal damnation, and that his last dis-
temper was a judgment upon him for his
manifold heresies and impieties *. Besides
this, ecclesiastical malice, unlimited in cru-
elty, and unabated by time, vented itself
in a ridiculous and senseless persecution of
his remains, his body being dug up and
burned by a decree of the council of Con-
stance forty years after his decease. The
same council condemned to the flames
two Bohemian disciples of his, John Hus
and Jerome of Prague, in violation of
good faith, they having attended the said
council under promise of protection by
the emperor's safe conduct.

Edward the III^d. a prince of great wis-
dom and fortitude, had penetration to per-
ceive the pernicious tendency of the papal
encroachments, and the nullity of their
pretensions to revenues and dominion in
England; and the spirit to with-hold the
one and withstand the other. And this
spirit in the prince seems to have spread
amongst

* What these impieties were, we may easily apprehend;
when we consider that what pass for religion at this *Æra* was
devotion to the interests of the Clergy, and veneration to their
order. For as to his moral conduct we are informed that
"Wickliffe himself, as well as his disciples, was distinguished
"by a remarkable austerity of life and manners."

Hume,
Vol. III.
p. 56.

SECT. amongst the people, which opened the
 III. way for the reception of Wickliffe's doc-
 Hume. trines, amidst a general discontent at the
 usurpations both of the pope and their
 own priests. Above the rest John of Ghent,
 Duke of Lancaster, brother to the King,
 and during the minority of Richard re-
 gent of the kingdom, encouraged his prin-
 ciples, and protected his person against
 the vindictive measures of the clergy, to
 bring him to punishment, which they re-
 peatedly attempted, but were disappointed
 of effecting their purpose. Such was the
 disposition of the nation at this time, that
 the proselytes to his doctrines, who re-
 ceived the appellations of Wickliffites and
 Lollards, became very numerous; and al-
 though the priests in the succeeding
 reigns regained power to persecute them
 with violence, they could not thoroughly
 eradicate the principles he had propagated
 from the minds of many of the people of
 England; who were thereby prepared
 more readily to fall in with the more ex-
 tensive reformation of the following age.

When the professors of Christianity in
 the papacy of Urban II. in the eleventh
 century, were almost universally seized
 with the extravagant passion of recovering
 Palestine out of the hands of the infidels,
 and resolved upon those expeditions, which
 were distinguished by the denomination
 of Crusades, from the standard of the
 cross

cross erected by the pope, and the sign SECT. III. thereof worn by the soldiers employed therein, the pope and the clergy, actuated by an extraordinary zeal to forward this pious undertaking (as they would have it esteemed) amongst other immunities and privileges granted those who should engage therein a plenary indulgence, and remission of all their sins. The gates of heaven (they were made to believe) were set open to them, without any other proof of their penitence than engaging in these expeditions. The prevalent effect of these indulgences upon the superstitious imaginations of the people, in bringing vast numbers to enlist under the banner of the cross, encouraged the ecclesiastics to continue them after the Crusades were laid aside, on every future occasion of suppressing all who became obnoxious to ecclesiastical power, under the notion of *heretics*, a term of reproach and odium applied to all such as exposed the futility of their usurpation of power over the consciences and rights of mankind. Their wars against the Vaudois, it hath been remarked, they termed *holy*, in imitation of the Crusades, and like indulgences were promised to the adventurers therein.

But these indulgences were not confined merely to the purpose of encouraging religious wars: When the priests and monks
had

SECT. had wrought upon the superstitious minds
III. of their followers, to bring them into the
delusive persuasion of the efficacy of them, they converted them into a very lucrative and scandalous traffic, which obtained and gained ground till the popedom of Leo X. a man more celebrated for a taste in literature and elegance, and the encouragement thereof, than for experience in religion, or promoting it in purity: The liberality of his disposition, and his affectation of great splendour and magnificence, ran him into a profusion of expence, to which even the revenues of the papal see were inadequate. So that in order to provide a more ample supply, he resorted, amongst other means, to a sale of indulgences; the dispersing of which in Saxony was committed to one Tetzel, a Dominican friar. This man and his associates scandalized the more serious and thinking part of the people, both by the extravagance of their assertions in favour of their merchandize, and by the licentiousness of their morals. Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, offended at Tetzel's absurd and wicked assertions in recommendation of his wares, stood forth in open opposition thereto, and in his sermons and writings zealously endeavoured to open the peoples eyes to discern the fraudulence and impiety of this imposition. The gross darkness of the night of apostacy

apostacy was drawing to an end, wherein SECT.
 mankind had been artfully kept in igno- III.
 rance of their rights and real interest; and the dawning of clearer light was fast advancing, and opening the understandings and minds of many for the more ready reception of the purer doctrines of the gospel. Luther's doctrines gained ground in Germany, in spite of the united efforts of the secular and ecclesiastical powers. Even the Pope's Bull, which had been so formidable to the greatest potentates, made little impression on Luther and his followers; he disregarded all their menaces, and attempts to stop his progress; and being supported by sundry princes of the empire, particularly the Electors of Saxony, he proceeded strenuously and undauntedly in the work of reformation, in which he was effectually seconded by Philip Melancthon; and soon after Zuinglius embarking in the same cause in Switzerland, the principles of these reformers spread widely through Germany, and from thence through other parts of Europe.

In England the sparks of light kindled in many hearts by the preceding labours of John Wickliffe in the cause of reformation, which had been smothered rather than extinguished by the persecutions to which the Lollards were exposed, revived

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III.

by means of several works of the German reformers translated into English. William Tindal and some others, who were inclined to the reformation, dreading the effects of King Henry's arbitrary temper, had fled to Antwerp: During their abode there; besides other books against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, Tindal employed himself in translating the scriptures into the English language; these books they sent into England privately, and by that means made many converts: But the pertinacious jealousy, which the Romish ecclesiastics entertained of divulging the Bible in the vulgar tongue, betrays a consciousness that the dominion they had established upon the superstitions, and the credulity of ignorance, would not bear the test of reason enlightened by revelation: And that while they were pretending to instruct the people in religion, and artfully making it the supporter of their usurped prerogatives, they dreaded nothing more than that the people should be supplied with the means of becoming acquainted with the pure source of religious truth, exhibited in these sacred records.

The Bishops strenuously decried Tindal's translation, as abounding in errors to that degree that it was not fit to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Tonstal, Bishop of
of

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of London [afterwards of Durham] procured all the copies at Antwerp to be bought up, and burned publicly in Cheap-^{III.}side: But this did no service to the clerical cause; for a considerable body of the people, who were now brought over to feel more reverence for these inspired writings, than for the priesthood, took occasion of much offence and reproach at committing to the flames those volumes, which they considered as the word of God. Neither did it answer the Bishops intention, for Tindal soon after published a more correct translation of the New Testament, copies of which were sent over to merchants in London, who dispersed them privately amongst their friends and acquaintances; and after some time his translation, being revised and corrected by Archbishop Cranmer, was established by authority, and in the year 1538, by command of King Henry VIII. was set up in every parish church, (so called) in order that the people might read it. This was a great step in favour of the reformation, and greatly encreased the adherents thereto. But this was the utmost of the reformation in this reign; King Henry continually wavering between the old religion and the new, kept and left the reformation in an imperfect state. It was considerably advanced in the minor reign of King Edward VI.

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III.

But the succeeding reign of Queen Mary, an arbitrary, weak and cruel princess, educated in the Romish superstition, to which she was a bigot in the extreme, overturned the reformation, diverted the national religion into the old channel, and reintroduced popery, with all its train of superstition, bitterness of enmity, and severity of persecution. This revolution proved literally a fiery trial upon the sincerity of the reformers, many of whom were brought to the stake, and suffered martyrdom with remarkable fortitude and piety, bearing a noble testimony to the truth they believed in, and against the errors, corruptions and cruelty of the church of Rome, to the last. Unshaken from their faith by flattery or menaces, they supported their testimony in the midst of tortures, and undauntedly sealed it with their blood. It was computed that no less than two hundred and seventy-seven suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines and confiscations, and the numbers who sought safety in flight. Divine Providence was pleased to deliver his people by cutting short this barbarous reign, the Queen being removed by death, after a reign of about five years and four months.

She was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who from her education, temper and

and intellectual abilities, formed a con-^{III.}sect. trast greatly to her advantage over her predecessor. She is said to have resolved upon furthering the reformation while she was held in the constraints of a pri-^{Goldsmith.}son, and upon her coming to the crown immediately set about it. The parliament compleated what she had begun, and in the course of a single session the reformation was established in that form which constitutes the present system of the church of England; to the ready accomplishment whereof, it is apprehended, the disgust conceived by the people at the frequency and barbarity of the late executions greatly contributed.

It is justly to be esteemed a signal favour, demanding the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of these nations, that divine Providence, in abundant mercy to Great Britain and its dependencies, was pleased to rend the veil of superstition, disperse the cloud of papal darkness, and cause the morning of Gospel light to dawn upon them; and those pious worthies, who by the purity of their manners and doctrines, by the tenor of their lives, and their faithfulness to death in testimony to the truth, were the principal instruments of bringing about and forwarding the reformation, are justly entitled to honorable
esteem

SECT. esteem, and doubtless enjoy the reward
III. of well-done. But as the apostacy from
primitive purity was gradual, and did not arrive at the height in one day or age, so it is not to be expected in the nature of things, that a complete reformation should be effected at once : multitudes attached to opinions long received as unquestionable truths, were prepossessed against the reformed doctrines ; and the majority of the ecclesiasticks, repugnant to a reformation which threatened the diminution of their gain and authority, violently opposed the attempts of the reformers as dangerous innovations, insomuch that these were forced to win their way step by step ; and at last, when by the successive revolutions of two reigns the ardour of that zeal which gave rise to and promoted the reformation began to wear away, and the protestants, harassed and driven into exile by the persecutions under Mary, naturally wished for a quiet settlement in their native country on any tolerating terms, the protestant religion was established in England under Elizabeth ; but in this establishment the maxims of human policy seem to have had too much influence, whereby those of the scripture were so qualified and restricted as to leave too many vestiges of the declension from the original purity
of

of the Gospel dispensation remaining, divers things being reserved in use, for which we find no precedent in the precepts or practice of our Lord Jesus Christ, or his apostles after his ascension.

Priestcraft, which ever sullied and obscured the brightness of Gospel light, had too much scope, and retained too much influence in the established system. In imitation of the Romish hierarchy, the clergy of the church of England assumed to themselves the *title* and *property* of the *Church*, which originally belonged to the *whole body or congregation of the believers*. The first ministers of the Gospel claimed *neither* to themselves, as they aimed at no power or dominion over their flocks, no reverence to their persons or their order, but what naturally resulted from the superiority of their spiritual gifts, the excellency of their ministry, and their exemplary lives. They claimed no share of the church's stock, but what necessity required; they had no idea of engrossing the whole to themselves, and leaving the poor, and the building or repairing the places of worship, an additional burden upon their hearers.

And although the reformation in some degree diminished both the power and the property of the priesthood, yet it left them more than enough of both to answer

SECT. III. fwer the end of a perfect reform, or to redress all the grievances complained of under the former hierarchy. It left them titles of distinction unheard and unthought of in the primitive church, such as archbishops, deans, archdeacons. It left in possession of the superior orders not only the title of lords of the realm, but the power and honours appendant to that high rank, and allotments of lands sufficient to support the state and dignity of that station, which, however consistent with human policy, appear to be irreconcilable to these precepts of Christ and his apostles. *The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you.* Matt. xx. 25, 26. *A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker; not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality; a lover of good men; sober, just, holy, temperate, &c.* Titus, i. 7, 8. *Feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Neither as being LORDS over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.* 1 Peter, v. 2, 3.

The vesting in the Bishops such a portion of honour, power and property, had no tendency to advance reformation; bearing

ing too near a resemblance to those badges of distinction borne by those of the Church of Rome, it was thought by many a resuming of the spirit, and principles of the former hierarchy, and defeating the ends of separating from that church, and protesting against the impositions and domineering spirit thereof.

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For although we admit that many respectable characters have adorned the bench of Bishops at and since the reformation, yet it is too manifest that these honours and emoluments of the office have proved a tempting bait to ambition to too many others, probably the greater part, whereby they have been drawn into negligence of their pastoral charge, to frequent the courts and palaces of princes, to hunt after greater preferments; and to pay more attention to their secular, than their spiritual calling.

The power also left in their hands proved a temptation to revive the spirit of persecution amongst them; soon forgetting all the ill usage and hardships their predecessors had undergone, during the bitter intolerancy of the last reign, from the Romish Bishops; the Protestant Bishops were hardly firmly seated in their stalls, till they exerted their endeavours to force an uniformity, which comprehended an universal assent to the propriety of their prerogatives,

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III.

prerogatives, and a submission to their power and decrees in matters ecclesiastical, by the penalties of imprisonments, confiscations, banishment, and (in some instances) of death. In their legislative capacity they were too generally zealous promoters of penal laws against non-conformists, and in their official and executive capacity strenuous aiders and abettors in carrying them rigorously into execution.

The reservation of tithes for the maintenance of the priests is another of the reliques of the apostatized church, an imposition which even ecclesiastical avarice did not extort till the ages of gross darkness and ignorance; and the grounds on which they were claimed, the return of Gospel light clearly manifested to be merely nugatory, and that they could not be retained in any reformation reverting to primitive purity, as no vestige of such a demand could be derived from the new testament, or the original practice of the Christian church.

Sundry other articles of the former superstition were reformed but partially: Ostentatious splendor and human contrivance in worship, and in the decoration of temples; the clerical vestments, pluralities and non-residence of the clergy, appear plain instances of a deviation from the simplicity, disinterestedness, and conscientious

scientious concern for the propagation of sect.
III.
pure religion, conspicuous in the primitive age of Christianity; and the latter, of a spirit of avarice approaching to injustice.

William Penn, who lived nearer those times, and whose introduction to his account of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers I have had my eye upon in the progress of this part of my work, having described the successive steps of the reformation in general terms, I quote his description, with some explanatory notes, as the readiest method to bring this introduction to a conclusion.

“ The last age did set some steps towards reformation, both as to *doctrine*, *worship* and *practice*; but *practice* quickly failed, for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the *professors* of the *reformation* as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to *earthly policy* and *power*, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with *spiritual weapons*; which I have often thought has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress as to
“ the

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“ the *life* and *soul* of *religion*. For whilst
 “ the reformers were lowly and spiritu-
 “ ally-minded, and trusted in God, and
 “ looked to him, and lived in his fear,
 “ and consulted not with flesh and blood,
 “ nor sought deliverance in their own
 “ way, there were daily added to the
 “ church such as one might reasonably
 “ say should be saved ; for they were not
 “ so careful to be safe from persecution
 “ as to be faithful and inoffensive under
 “ it ; being more concerned to spread the
 “ truth by their faith and patience in
 “ *tribulation*, than to get the worldly
 “ power out of their hands that inflicted
 “ those sufferings upon them : And it
 “ will be well if the LORD suffer them
 “ not to fall by the very same way they
 “ took to stand.

“ In *doctrine* they were in some things
 “ short ; in other things, to avoid one
 “ extreme they ran into another ; and
 “ for *worship*, there was for the genera-
 “ lity, more of *man* in it than of GOD.
 “ They owned the *spirit*, *inspiration* and
 “ *revelation* indeed, and grounded their
 “ separation and reformation upon the
 “ sense and understanding they received
 “ from it, in the reading of the scrip-
 “ tures of truth. And this was their
 “ plea ; the *scripture* is the *text*, the *spirit*
 “ the *interpreter*, and *that* to every one for
 “ *himself*.

“ *himself*. But yet there was too much of S E C T.
 “ human invention, tradition and art III.
 “ that remained both in praying and
 “ preaching ; and of worldly authority
 “ and worldly greatness in their ministers,
 “ especially in this kingdom, *Sweden*,
 “ *Denmark*, and some parts of *Germany*.
 “ GOD was therefore pleased in *England*
 “ to shift us from vessel to vessel,* and
 “ the

* These were first distinguished by the appellation of Puritans, and afterwards by that of Presbyterians. During the persecution under Mary's cruel and bigotted reign many of the reformed Church had sought an asylum from the fury of the persecution in those foreign countries where the Protestant religion had obtained an establishment, particularly at Frankfort and Geneva. Here a disagreement arose between them respecting ceremonies, discipline and modes of worship. Those who had taken up their residence at Frankfort adhering to the regulations established in England under King Edward, and those at Geneva adopting the doctrine and discipline established there by Calvin. When the persecution in England terminated with the life of Mary, the exiles returned and brought their difference along with them. The Puritans, so called from their singular purity of life and manners, in which I have no doubt many of them were very sincere, being represented of exemplary lives, diligent in preaching, and moral in their conduct, desirous of a greater reformation, and wanting the useless ceremonies and clerical habits to be laid aside, or at least not to be imposed upon them against their consciences ; they also wished the Common-prayer Book to be left indifferent, *i. e.* to be used or not, as every minister or congregation might be fully persuaded in their own minds : Although these demands appear reasonable, both the civil and ecclesiastical rulers thought otherwise, and insisted upon an absolute and entire conformity to that model of religion which they had agreed to establish for the observation of the whole kingdom.

The Puritans appear not at first to have entertained any design of separating from the established Church : their teach-

SECT. " the next remove *humbled* the ministry;
 III. " so that they were more strict in preach-
 ing,

ers had no aversion to a participation in her revenues, or to have officiated as parish ministers, if they might have been indulged to officiate in consistency with their religious scruples; and many efforts they made in this and the succeeding reigns to procure for themselves a comprehension in the church. But the Bishops, averse to every concession whereby any part of the ecclesiastical revenues might be possessed without an unreserved conformity to their prescriptions, and submission to the decrees of their convocations, in conjunction with the ecclesiastical commissioners appointed by the Queen, proceeded first to silence the puritan preachers, and deprive them of their benefices; and afterwards to persecute and imprison them. The Puritans, hereby despairing of a coalition with the established Church, withdrew from it, and formed themselves into a separate society; but with as much privacy as possible, to escape the edge of the penal laws.

It doth not appear, that during their endeavours to keep their places in the church, they made much objection or opposition to the order of Bishops; but seemed content to act under them, if they might be allowed the liberty of disusing the vestments, which they looked upon as reliques of popery; and of using such parts of the liturgy only as they might judge for edification. But for their non-conformity in these frivolous and unnecessary matters, being prosecuted with rigour by the Bishops, they were confirmed in a dislike to episcopal government; and when they separated into a select society, in the place of Bishops they chose ruling Elders, or Presbyters, from among themselves, from whence they received the appellation of Presbyterians.

Although in their first separation from the church of Rome, and afterwards in their dissent from the church of England, the Puritans were, many of them, actuated by pure conscientious motives, and were men of circumspect lives, and a pious, religious turn of mind; yet in process of time, historians remark, the sincerity of their successors, and their zeal for religion, degenerated into formal preciseness, and outward shew of purity, while their actions manifested, that their real views were more turned to the acquisition of secular power than holiness. To wrest the sword out of the hands of their persecutors, they formed a party in the state, and when they had carried

“ing, devout in praying, and zealous for SECT.
 “keeping the LORD’S DAY, and cate- III.
 “chizing of children and servants, and
 “repeating at home in their families
 “what they had heard in public. But
 “even as these grew into power, they
 “were not only for *whipping* some out,
 “but others into, the temple; and they
 “appeared *rigid in their spirits* rather than
 “severe in their lives, and more for a
 “party than for piety, which brought
 “forth another people that were yet more
 “retired and select*.

“They

carried their point to get the power into their own hands, they proved themselves equally intolerant, and as great sticklers for conformity to their directory, confession of faith, and solemn league and covenant, as the Bishops had been for conformity to the use of the surplice, the liturgy, and the cross in baptism.

* This sect at first received the appellation of Brownists, from Robert Brown their pastor, a puritan preacher of Norfolk, and afterwards that of Independents: His followers were so prejudiced against the established church, by reason of the severities she exercised upon the Puritans, that they went further in their separation than the Presbyterians had done; for the latter were very willing to own her as a true church, and even to unite with her, if she would but abate them certain ceremonious usages; but the Independents would not allow her to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers, and renounced all communion with her. They apprehended every church ought to be limited within the bounds of a single congregation, and that it had full power, exclusive of secular penalties, over its own pastor and members, independent of the superintendency or controul of any other congregation or general assembly, or of the civil magistrate, as far as conscientious scruples gave no disturbance to civil order; (for although they found it afterwards expedient to convene Synods, they

SECT. " They would not *communicate* at large
 III. " or in common with others, but formed
 " churches

Hume.
 M'Aulay.

they allowed them only the privilege of advising, but not of any controul or governing power) and thence they were stiled *Independents*; but this independence connected them so slightly, and their particular sentiments seem to have been so different, that it was difficult for them to adhere closely together, or for others to know precisely what the system of their doctrines was. Their political sentiments coincided with their religious tenets, being favourable to civil liberty, but to a degree which proved, by experience, too refined for the present state of civil society. In ecclesiastical government they were for independency; in civil government for republicanism. To them our modern historians ascribe the origin of the doctrine of toleration, but go too far in asserting that they uniformly maintained it in their practice when invested with power: the succeeding history will exhibit some melancholy instances in contradiction to such assertion. In fine the pursuit and acquisition of secular power proved highly detrimental to their reputation and their innocence; introducing a polluting transition from religious thoughtfulness, and a circumsppection of life and manners, regulated in some measure by the doctrines of the gospel; to political considerations, and maxims of human prudence in the administration of civil government, wherein their leaders and teachers betrayed symptoms of ambition, avarice, and a vindictive disposition irreconcilable to the purity of Christianity; at the same time continuing to make a high profession of, and pretensions to, religious purity, which gave occasion to Historians of the opposite party to represent them, and other dissenters, as a body of Pharisaical hypocrites: But it appears to me both ungenerous and unsafe to comprehend any body of men under one general character, which is most frequently the result of the narrow spirit of party-zeal, and secret antipathy, rather than that generosity of sentiment and dispassionate temper of mind, which can calmly investigate truth and applaud virtue, wherever it may be found. I believe the Independents, in common with other societies, in their first separation from the established church, were generally actuated by conscientious motives; that many of them retained their integrity; that several of more tender consciences among them, offended at the

the

“ churches among themselves of such ^{as} SECT.
 “ could give some account of their con- III.
 “ version, at least of very promising ex-
 “ periences of the work of God’s Grace
 “ upon their hearts; and under mutual
 “ agreements and covenants of fellow-
 “ ship they kept together. These people
 “ were somewhat of a softer temper, and
 “ seemed to recommend religion by the
 “ charms of its love, mercy and good-
 “ ness, rather than by the terrors of its
 “ judgments and punishments, by which
 “ the former party would have awed peo-
 “ ple into religion.
 “ They also allowed *greater liberty* to
 “ prophecy than those before them,
 “ for they admitted any member to
 VOL. I. D “ speak

the latitude taken in their measures by some of their ruling members in their political capacity, left them in search of a purer and more undefiled religion elsewhere. For it is too notorious to be controverted, that the conduct of too many of their principal men and pastors, whose particular conduct commonly fixeth the character of the whole body, was unjustifiable in various instances: Their policy in acquiring, and their jealousy of losing their power, which many looked upon as a violent and unjust usurpation, pushed them upon some measures, which cannot be defended upon the principles of religion, morality or humanity. Their reputation, notwithstanding, was very considerable for wisdom and political capacity in the administration of public affairs, during which they made a conspicuous figure; but with the termination of their power their religious character seemeth to have been irrecoverably lost, they soon sunk into obscurity, and dwindled in Neale. their numbers, till they became so inconsiderable a body of themselves, that they applied for, and obtained their desire, to be incorporated amongst the Presbyterians.

SECT. " speak or pray as well as their pastor,
 III. " whom they always chose, and not the
 " civil magistrate. If such found any
 " thing pressing upon them *to either duty,*
 " even without the *distinction of clergy or*
 " *laity,* persons of any trade had the li-
 " berty, be it never so low and mecha-
 " nical. But alas ! even these people suf-
 " fered great loss, for tasting of *worldly*
 " *empire,* and the *favour of princes,* and
 " the *gain* that ensued, they degenerated
 " but too much. For though they had
 " cried down national churches and mi-
 " nistry, and maintenance too, some of
 " them, when it was their own turn to
 " be, tried, fell under the weight of
 " worldly honour and advantage, got into
 " profitable parsonages too much, and
 " outlived and contradicted their own
 " principles ; and, which was yet worse,
 " turned, some of them, *absolute perse-*
 " *cutors of other men for GOD's sake,* that
 " but so lately came themselves out of
 " the furnace, which drove many, a step
 " farther, and that was into the water :
 " *Another baptism,* as believing they were
 " not *scripturally baptized,* and hoping to
 " find that presence and power of God
 " in submitting to this watry ordinance,
 " which they desired and wanted.

" These

* "These people also made profession SECT.
 "of *neglecting*, if not *renouncing* and cen- III.
 "suring,

* The third society mentioned by William Penn, as aiming to carry the reformation still farther, are the Baptists, (or Anabaptists) who received that denomination from their objecting to the validity of infant baptism by sprinkling, and their practice of baptizing by the immersion of adults, whom they considered as believers, thinking these the only proper subjects of this ceremony. Upon this account they claim an immediate descent from the apostles and the primitive church, whose practice in this respect, they maintain, was the same. But their origin is generally deduced from later ages, they being considered as having sprung up in Germany, by separating themselves from the Lutherans, because their reformation was imperfect, and not brought up to the primitive standard; as the proper mode and subject of baptism was not allowed by them to be necessary in the performance of that rite. Therefore they re-baptized their followers, condemning infant-baptism as unscriptural, and of no effect, whence they acquired the name of Anabaptists. In their first separation they also seem to have been actuated by sincere and purely religious motives; and exemplified the sincerity of their religious profession, by the strictness of their lives and doctrines, being conspicuous for their morality, mortification, and simplicity of dress. They exclaimed not only against the authority and tyranny of the church of Rome, but against every authority which opposed the rights of conscience.

History of
 Religion by
 an impartial
 hand.

Lond. 1764.

This society was much exposed to persecution, and therefore it was natural for them to exclaim against it. Yet in their early appearance in Germany some under the denomination of Anabaptists gave occasion for the extension of the magistrate's sword. Upon their first separation from the Lutherans they seem to have been more quick-sighted in discovering what to reject than what to pursue; it appears as if they were not agreed in any system of religious principles except the doctrine of baptism; in other respects their principles were lax and indeterminate, which gave a latitude to some unsettled spirits under their name to adopt opinions destructive to the peace and order of civil society. "That amongst
 "Christians, who had the precepts of the gospel and the
 "spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was

Robertson.

SECT. "firing, not only the necessity, but use of
 III. "all human learning, as to the ministry, and
 "all

"not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment on
 "their spiritual liberty; that all Christians, throwing their
 "possessions into one common stock, should live together in
 "that state of equality, which becomes the members of the
 "same family." Nay, it is said they went so far as to maintain,
 "that as neither the laws of Nature nor the New Testament
 "had placed any restraints upon men, with regard to
 "the number of wives they might marry, they should use
 "that liberty which God himself had granted to the Patriarchs."

The actions of these men were such as might be expected to flow from such extravagant notions: they made an insurrection in Westphalia, seized the city of Munster, and in their attempts to establish a commonwealth conformable to their wild ideas, ran into the most exorbitant and criminal excesses; which induced a confederacy of the secular powers to quell them by force of arms, and bring the ringleaders to condign punishment. This being effected, these commotions, which were principally raised by two obscure men, John Matthias, a baker, of Haarlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman tailor, of Leyden, subsided entirely; but the brand of infamy, which they stamped upon the denomination, was too deep to be readily effaced; and involved the innocent with the guilty in the fatal consequences of these disorders: Being persecuted in one city they fled into another, dispersing themselves and their opinions into divers countries, where although they led a quiet and peaceable life, and disavowed the criminal extravagancies of those of Munster, yet riveted prejudice, detestation and persecution were long attendant upon anabaptism, wherever it was adopted or professed. Numbers were martyred in different countries for their adherence thereto. And although in England persecution hath not in latter ages proceeded to that extremity; yet in every storm of persecution here, they had generally their full share. Next to the body of people, who are the subject of the following history, they were perhaps the most hated and persecuted sect, they having adopted many opinions of the same tenor with those which exposed the people called Quakers to the severity of their sufferings; they maintained the liberty of prophesying,

“ all other qualifications to it, besides the SECT. III.
 “ *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit* of GOD,
 “ and those natural and common to men.
 “ And for a time they seemed like *John*
 “ of old, *a burning and a shining light to*
 “ *other societies.*

“ They were very diligent, plain and
 “ serious, strong in scripture and bold in
 “ profession, bearing much reproach and
 “ contradiction. But that which others
 “ fell by proved their snare, for worldly
 “ power spoiled them too; who had
 “ enough of it to try them what they
 “ would do if they had more: And they
 “ rested also too much upon their watry
 “ dispensation, instead of passing on
 “ more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy*
 “ *Ghost*, which was *his baptism*, who came
 “ *with a fan in his hand*; that he might
 “ *thoroughly*, and not in part only, *purge*
 “ *his floor*, and take away the *dross* and the
 “ *tin* of his people, and make a man *finer*
 “ *than Gold*. Withal they grew high,
 “ rough and self-righteous, opposing far-
 “ ther attainment; too much forgetting
 “ the day of their infancy and littleness,
 “ which gave them something of a real
 “ beauty,

as any individual was authorized and qualified by the gift or Raynal.
 influence of the holy Spirit; some of them held war to be in- Confession
 consistent with Christianity, and scrupled to take an oath; of faith of
 they insisted that the gospel ought to be free, and denied the general
 right of tithes, or other compulsory maintenance of mi- Baptists,
 1660.
 nisters. ART. 16.

SECT. III. " beauty, insomuch that many left them,
 " and all visible churches and societies,
 " and wandered up and down, as *sheep*
 " without a *shepherd*, and as *doves* with-
 " out their *mates*; seeking their *beloved*;
 " but could not find him, as their souls
 " desired to know him, whom their souls
 " loved above their *chiefest joy*.

" These people were called *Seekers* by
 " some, and the *Family of Love* by others;
 " because, as they came to the knowledge
 " of one another, they sometimes met
 " together, not formally to pray or preach
 " at appointed times or places, in their
 " own wills, as in times past they were
 " accustomed to do, but waited together
 " in *silence*, and as any thing rose in any
 " one of their minds that they thought
 " favoured of a *divine spring*, they some-
 " times spoke. But so it was, that some
 " of them not keeping in *humility* and in
 " the *fear* of God, after the abundance
 " of revelation, were exalted *above mea-*
 " *sure*; and for want of staying their
 " minds in an humble dependance upon
 " him that opened their understandings
 " to see *great things* in his *law*, they ran
 " out in their own imaginations, and
 " mixing them with those divine open-
 " ings, brought forth a monstrous birth,
 " to the scandal of those that feared God,
 " and waited daily in the temple, not
 " made

“ made with hands, for the consolation of SECT. III.
 “ *Israel*; the *Jew* inward, and circumci-
 “ sion in spirit.

“ This people obtained the name of
 “ *Ranters*, from their extravagant dis-
 “ courses and practices; for they inter-
 “ preted CHRIST’S fulfilling of the law
 “ for us to be a discharging of us from
 “ any obligation and duty the law re-
 “ quired of us, instead of the condem-
 “ nation of the law for sins past, upon
 “ faith and repentance; and that now it
 “ was no sin to do that which before it
 “ was a sin to commit, the slavish fear of
 “ the law being taken off by CHRIST;
 “ and all things good that man did, if
 “ he did but do them with the mind and
 “ persuasion that it was so, insomuch that
 “ divers fell into gross and enormous
 “ practices, pretending in excuse thereof,
 “ that they could, *without evil*, commit
 “ the same act which was sin in another
 “ to do.”

Their extravagancies and immoralities
 shocking the sincere seekers of pure re-
 ligion amongst them, they relinquished
 a community fallen into manifest disorder,
 to search after it elsewhere; and
 many of other societies also, feeling a
 desire after a greater degree of purity and
 peace of mind than they had yet met
 with, were at a loss to know where to
 find

SECT. find it, or whom to apply to for di-
 III. rection.

About this time Providence saw meet to raise up an instrument to gather a people from those who were dissatisfied with these different professions, and were looking for the revelation of the Gospel in greater purity, as well as many who were not. A man of strong natural parts, firm health, undaunted courage, remarkable disinterestedness, inflexible integrity, and undisguised sincerity, unacquainted with the doctrine of the schools, and unattached to any system, but endued with a power and authority which schools cannot convey, speaking the language of experience, and of a heart versed in the work of sanctification. The tenor of his doctrine, when he found himself concerned to instruct others, was to wean men from systems, ceremonies, and the outside of religion in every form, and to lead them to an acquaintance with themselves, by a most solicitous attention to what passed in their own minds; to direct them to a principle in their own hearts, which if duly attended to, would introduce rectitude of mind, simplicity of manners, a life and conversation adorned with every christian virtue, and peace, the effect of righteousness, which they were looking for. Drawing his doctrine
 from

from the pure source of religious truth, ^{SECT.}
the New Testament, and the convictions ^{III.}
of his own mind, abstracted from the
comments of men, he asserted the free-
dom of man, in the liberty of the Gos-
pel, against the tyranny of custom, and
against the combined powers of severe
persecution, the greatest contempt and
the keenest ridicule. Unshaken and un-
dismayed he persevered in disseminating
principles and practices conducive to the
present and everlasting well-being of man-
kind with great honesty, simplicity and
success. It seems proper, therefore, with
an account of this extraordinary charac-
ter, who was the first preacher of the
principles of the society afterwards dis-
tinguished by the contemptuous appella-
tion of Quakers, and the first person who
received that name, to open the history of
this people,

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
P E O P L E C A L L E D Q U A K E R S.

B O O K I.

From the Birth of George Fox to the End
of the Commonwealth.

C H A P T E R I.

Birth of George Fox.—His early turn to Religion.—Is put apprentice.—Religious Thoughtfulness predominant in his Mind, and its Effects.—He leaves his Relations.—Falls under great Trouble of mind.—Applies to several Priests, but receives no Relief.—Withdraws from the publick Worship.—Passeth his Time in Retirement.—Grows in religious Experience.

GEORGE FOX was a native of Leicester-shire, being born at Drayton in the Clay, in the said county, in the year 1624, of parents not considerable for their rank in the world, but respectable in their neighbourhood for piety, and integrity of life, who gave him a sober, although not a learned, education, in the way and worship

C H A P.
I.
1624.
Birth of
George Fox.

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C H A P .
I .
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George Fox.

CHAP. worship of the national church: ^a His mother especially, a woman of qualifications superiour to the generality of her circumstances in life, observing the bent of his disposition to gravity and seriousness from his childhood, treated him with particular tenderness and indulgence, being careful not to discourage his virtuous inclinations, feeling much satisfaction in these early indications of a pious and religious turn of mind in her son.

His early
turn to re-
ligion.

As he grew up, this seriousness and gravity grew up with him, and his contemplative turn of mind enlarged his understanding with just notions of religion in his early minority, inso-
much that about the ^b eleventh year of his age, he had clear conceptions of righteousness and purity; whereby he was influenced to be faithful in all things; inwardly to God, and outwardly to man. ^c The staidness and gravity of his demeanour suggested to some of his relations a desire that he might be educated for the Priesthood; but, whether the circumstances or the inclinations of his parents prevented, ^d he was put apprentice to a shoe-maker, by whom he was chiefly employed in keeping of sheep, an employment well suited to the temper of his mind, both for its innocence and solitude. In his service and commerce he was truly conscientious, discharging his trust with the most scrupulous fidelity to his master, and honesty and integrity to all he dealt with.

He is put
apprentice.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship he re-
turned home to his parents, and religious con-
sideration

^a Penn's Preface to George Fox's Journal. ^b George Fox's Journal, p. 2. ^c Ibid. ^d William Penn's Preface.

sideration having still the ascendancy in his mind, the clear impression fixed therein of the refined nature of true religion, pointed out to him the necessity of great circumspection in all his words and actions; * that his words should be few and savoury, seasoned with Grace, sincere and void of deceit; that he must deal with all men uprightly as in the sight of God; that he must be watchfully temperate in eating and drinking, using the Creatures not for the gratification of a carnal appetite, but for the preservation of health, as Servants in their places to the Glory of him who created them. At the same time observing in the greater number of those who were high in profession of religion, a latitude in their conduct and conversation; an indulgence in sensual gratifications; or an attachment to temporal pursuits, to a degree, in his view, irreconcilable to the purity of the Christian religion, it occasioned him discouragement, and anxiety of heart to that degree, that he could not, sometimes, take his natural rest; but spent his nights in watchings and in prayer: Under his solicitude on the most important subject he received this internal admonition "Thou seest how the young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger unto all."

This, which he understood to be a divine command, determined him to leave his relations and acquaintance; to detach himself, as much as possible from company and conversation, for fear of being drawn into unwatchfulness, and transgressing the limits of pure religion, and receiving hurt thereby. † Yet in his moving about

CHAP.

I.

I 643-

Religious
thoughtful-
ness predo-
minant in
his mind;
and its ef-
fects.

He leaves
his relations.

C H A P. (for he tarried not long in any place) he sought out the most retired and religious people to converse with, as he felt freedom, or apprehended the pointings of duty thereto, and sojourned amongst them. ^{I.}

1643.

and falls
under great
trouble of
mind.

1644.

Applies to
sundry
priests.

1646.

He with-
draws from
the public
worship,

“ In these his solitary travels, he was under great trouble and anguish of mind to that degree that he was tempted almost to despair, whereby he was brought to a narrow scrutiny and retrospection into his past life; and blameless as it seems to have been, his anxiety still increased nigh to despondency at times. In this state a doubt arising in his mind of the rectitude of his conduct in leaving his relations, he returned home; yet here feeling little mitigation of his sorrows, he had recourse to several of the Priests in these parts, who were in repute for religious experience, to consult them, for their counsel and advice; but found no real benefit or help from them, they not being able to reach his state, or administer the relief he wanted.

^b Being disappointed in his application to these teachers, and finding them to him Physicians of no value, he was discouraged from a dependence upon them. And shortly after this his understanding being enlightened to see beyond the prevailing popular prejudices, “ That an education at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough “ to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ,” and “ That God did not dwell in temples made “ with hands,” he declined the attendance of the public worship, to hear sermons unavailable to the state of his soul, and to join in prayers and singing not expressive of its feelings, esteeming it not worship, but offensive to the divine being, who knows the secrets of all hearts, to address

addresses him in language not conceived in the soul, nor formed from the inward feeling of what it stood in need of. ^{CHAP. I.} He therefore turned his views toward the dissenters, as apprehending more tenderness and religious experience among them: yet he found not that satisfaction here, which he desired: For being convinced that to be a true believer was a more arduous attainment than mankind in general apprehended, and that they only were such “*Who were born again*” and “*had passed from death to life*: that a profession of truth without the possession; a form of Godliness destitute of the power thereof, prevailed too much amongst the different classes of the professors of Christianity. Wherefore withdrawing from communion with all outward societies, he retired alone into solitary places, frequently with his bible, and employed himself in reading and meditation there.

For the space of three or four years he lived in privacy and solitude; during which time, through a variety of probations, he grew in religious experience, and the work of sanctification: being illuminated with the clear discovery of the mystery of iniquity; endued with wisdom and fortitude to avoid evil; and steadily to endeavour after righteousness and holiness; which, through divine Grace, he was enabled to attain in a good degree. By a strict attention, and ready obedience to the teacher nigh at hand, the word in the heart, and in the mouth, to be heard and obeyed, he was endued with intellectual discernment, to distinguish between the essential, and external part of religion, between the spirit and the letter: the latter he thought ^{and passeth his time in retirement and solitude.} ^{Groweth in religious experience,} unavailable

CHAP. I. unavailable of itself to salvation; but the former he adopted, as that without which no man can be saved. Thus by an internal monitor, being, (as the wise scribe in the Gospel) well instructed to the kingdom of heaven, and qualified to bring out of the treasury of his own experience, things new and old; he felt it his duty not to ^k hide the light under a bed, or under a bushel, but to set it as on the candlestick to diffuse light to the nation; that is, publicly to recommend to mankind an inward attention to the same internal monitor, ^l the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

and publicly exhorts to an attention to the light, &c.

Human literature not essential to a gospel minister.

I know that George Fox and his Friends have been exposed to much contempt and ridicule, for assuming the province of teachers, being many of them illiterate men: But absurd and ridiculous as it may appear in the eyes of human policy or contemptuous science, the sequel proves them not without qualification for the part which they undertook. They, and the people called Quakers after them in general, although they neither did nor do condemn nor reject useful literature, yet were and are fully of opinion it is not an essential qualification of a Gospel minister; but that the inward experience of the work of conversion and sanctification is: That the latter without the former may constitute the character of a minister of the Gospel; that the former without the latter never can. We admit that good natural parts, and an enlarged understanding, are valuable accomplishments, and gifts of the Creator of man for great and good purposes; that being cultivated and improved

improved by useful knowledge, they may bring advantage to the possessor in particular, and the community in general, for many purposes of this life; and that being sanctified by divine grace, they may be made highly subservient to promote the welfare of mankind in the best sense, if, in gratitude to the beneficent giver of every good and perfect gift, they be devoted to the ends for which he gave them, the advancement of religion and virtue: that by such an application alone of these precious gifts, men act as faithful Stewards of the talents their Creator hath entrusted them with, to whom we must all give an account of the use and improvement we have made of them, which merits the serious consideration of all who are favoured with these advantages. Yet we esteem it the most valuable and genuine characteristic of the Gospel, that its doctrines, whereby life and immortality are brought to light, under the influence of divine Grace, are intelligible to the unlearned in human literature, as well as the learned: This we believe as the necessary consequence of the divine attributes of Goodness and Justice. We consider Christianity, not as a speculative science, but a practical doctrine; and that religion most worthy of our study and pursuit, which mends the heart, and regulates the life and manners, not that which only fills the head with a notional apprehension of divine things. If George Fox with experience without learning became a preacher of righteousness, so did those, who of all others have the most undisputed title to the character of Gospel ministers, viz. the Apostles, on the authority of one of themselves, ^m "That which

C H A P.

I.

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" we

CHAP. I. "we have heard, which we have seen, and our
 hands have handled of the word of life—de-
 1646. "clare we unto you."

CHAP. II.

George Fox travels abroad again.—State of the Nation.—A general Turn to Religion prevalent, and religious Opinions multiplying, open a freer Reception for George Fox's Ministry.—His first Appearance as a Minister.—Independents seize the Government.—George Fox's first Appearance in Prayer.—Attends a public Dispute at Leicestershire—Endeavours on all Occasions to promote Righteousness.—Symptoms of Disgust against him begin to appear.—I. For refusing customary Modes of Salutation and Address—Other Causes of Offence.—Chiefly the Doctrine of him and his Friends concerning Gospel Ministry.—George Fox's first Imprisonment at Nottingham.—Removed to the Sheriff's House, and back to Prison.—His ill Treatment in other Places.—Occasion thereof.—Apology for it.

CHAP. III.

1647.

George Fox
 departs
 from home
 again, and
 travels a-
 broad.

"IT was in the year 1647 that George Fox conceived it his duty to leave his outward habitation a second time, and travel abroad, to seek out the most serious and religious people to associate and converse with. Passing through part of his native county and Derbyshire he came

came into Nottinghamshire; and in his passing along, wherever he met with honest-hearted religious people, he would enter into religious conferences with them, as freedom and opportunity invited, for mutual improvement and edification; but he chiefly recommended silence, and abstinence from self-performances, in order to turn the attention of men more stedfastly to the light of Christ within them; and to wait in patience to feel the power of this divine principle animate them to a heavenly temper, and a life of righteousness; always exemplifying the doctrine he taught in his own practice.

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At this time the nation was in a very unsettled state. After some years of civil war, commenced, (as alledged) for the redress of grievances, and limiting or preventing arbitrary power, (for which too much occasion had been given) and terminating in a contest for the supremacy. The Presbyterians and their adherents, assisted by their brethren from Scotland, had vanquished the Royalists, and were themselves overreached by the Independents, who having now gotten the King into their hands, a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the army, attached to their interest, were proceeding rapidly to fix themselves in the seat of government. As this civil war had been undertaken to redress religious grievances as well as those in the state, that class of the people who were distinguished by the denomination of Puritans and Sectaries (having suffered much persecution under the power of the bishops) ranked generally on that side which aimed at the abolition of their dominion and office; and this party (who made high pretensions to sanctity and purity of religion) succeeding in their aim, both in the conducting

State of the
nation at
this period.

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ducting of the war, and of the government after the war was concluded, giving scope to a latitude of policy, ambition, and a vindictive temper, irreconcilable to the honest simplicity, the peaceable and forgiving spirit of the Christian religion, and the purity of their former pretensions, gave occasion to their antagonists, and sundry historians after them, to represent the dissenters of this age in general under one description of hypocritical enthusiasts, who covered pernicious designs under the veil of sanctity, and masked deep deceit under specious professions. These party-reproaches (however well-grounded in respect to some public characters) could not, with candour or justice, be applied to numbers of the people of that age, who dissented from the preceding established worship, and nevertheless were sincere in piety, and in their researches after pure and undefiled religion; for ever since the reformation had broken the shackles, with which Priestcraft had fettered the understandings of mankind, and taught them to think for themselves, and pursue the train of their thoughts in a free enquiry after truth and pure religion, many of the most sincere in their enquiries, apprehending too much of the old leaven both in doctrine, discipline and manners retained in the episcopal church; and that they had the same right by the laws of God and nature to dissent from her, that she had to dissent from the Church of Rome, were engaged in honesty of heart to wish for, and endeavour after, a more perfect reformation: and several of them evidenced the sincerity of their piety by circumspect and virtuous lives, the criterion whereby only men can safely judge of each other. *By their fruits shall ye know them.* The persecution and

and sufferings to which their dissent exposed them may be considered also as a test of sincerity; for what man would incur certain evil, but in prospect of greater good?

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As I am far from attempting to vindicate all those who at this time made pretensions to purity, being sensible that too many of them either made religion a cloak of covetousness and ambition, or if they were ever sincere, became corrupt by the possession of power; so I cannot think they do any service to the cause of religion, who, by dwelling upon the prevailing insincerity without exception, give an air of suspicion to all religious appearances, of being only a cover to bad designs: Many, I believe, who were drawn into wrong measures, for want of discriminating religious dissent from political faction, were sincere and acted upon principle, though under the influence of human frailty liable to err in judgment, and that divers of these coming to see their error relinquished it. I believe also many others were really religious, devoted in heart to the service of their Creator, and so to pass the time of their sojourning here in his fear, as to obtain his favour; that they were preserved thereby through these times of tumult in innocence and integrity of life, lamenting the calamities of their country, and forbearing to take any active part in the guilty and distracting scene. That from the reformation to this time a spirit of free religious enquiry had been kept alive, even by the severities practised to quash it; That the civil wars, which spread bloodshed and devastation to almost every corner of the land, having stripped great numbers of much of their outward substance, and leaving the remaining part at the disposal of superior force,

CHAP. II. force, had an effect to wean men's affections insensibly from possessions of so precarious a tenure: That all, who could think seriously, were naturally led to look for something more stable; which not being found below, they were incited to look for it above: And that the spirit of religious enquiry, and sincere desire in many to seek after and attain solid good, received additional strength.

A general
turn to reli-
gion preva-
lent at this
time,

^b It was certainly an ara when religious profession and regularity of manners were in general estimation; and amidst this general profession, we must presume many were truly conscientious in their dissent from established forms, and in their enquiry after a better way. But in these times of turbulence, and intestine commotion, when the reins of civil and ecclesiastical authority were shifting from hand to hand, sects and opinions multiplying, and many coming, and saying, "Lo here is Christ, and lo he is " there," perplexed many of the honest and sincere enquirers, in their search of truth: Amidst the variety and fluctuation of doctrines and opinions, like Noah's dove, they found no rest for the soles of their feet, being under uncertainty what guide to follow, or what society to associate with; and therefore sundry others, beside George Fox, deserted these uncertain teachers, and in retirement and solitude consulted the scriptures, and the oracle in their own breasts, for instruction in the way of their duty; or met in select companies for worshipping, and mutual edification. ^c Amongst such as these who were weary of a fruitless search without, George Fox found an open reception for his doctrine, directing to

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ons multi-
plied,

open a freer
course and
reception to
George
Fox's mi-
nistry.

an

an unerring guide within them, viz. The light of Christ, which he hath placed as a witness for himself in every man's conscience.

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^d His ministerial labours were at first exercised in the way of religious conference with such well-disposed people as he met with upon enquiry, as he passed along from place to place in concise but instructive remarks upon the nature of pure religion. He durst not stay long in any particular place, for fear of contracting acquaintance which might not be profitable, or of entering into much conversation, whereby his mind drawn off from its habitual meditation and recollection might be retarded or injured as to advancement in religious experience. But as he went northward as far as Duckenfield and Manchester, meeting thereaway with some religious enquirers he made some stay, and had religious meetings, and declared truth amongst them; whereby there were some convinced of the truth of his doctrine, who (as he expresseth it) received the Lord's teaching, were confirmed and stood in the truth.

His first appearing as a minister.

This is the first instance we have of his public ministry, which, in his first setting out in this line, I understand, consisted in a few weighty expressions, attended with a reaching power, greatly affecting the hearts of his auditory.

^e At no great distance from this time, another opportunity occurred for his public ministry on the following occasion: The Baptists had appointed a meeting at Broughton in Leicester-shire, with some persons who had separated from them: The report thereof drew abundance of people together, even from other counties, and

A meeting appointed by the Baptists affords an opportunity of exercising his ministry again.

George

^d George Fox's Journal, p. 6, 12.

^e Ibid, p. 12.

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 George Fox among others; but from whatever cause it happened, but few of the Baptists attended. This circumstance presenting a full audience, and George feeling his mind divinely influenced, made use of the opportunity to inculcate the doctrines he had received as truth upon the minds of the assembly with success: Several by his powerful preaching, and others, by his reasoning in conferences with them, were convinced of the truth he published that day.

Independents seize the government.
 1648.
 'Near the close of this year O. S. the Independents and Republicans accomplished their purpose in bringing the King to the block, abolishing regal dominion; the authority and peculiar privileges of the Nobility; and the office of Bishops: and seating themselves at the helm of Government. Their professed principles being in favour of civil and religious liberty, the public places of worship seem, for a season, till they were more firmly fixed in their seats, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological discussion, and disputation between the teachers or members of various sects: This furnished George Fox and others with more public and full opportunities of divulging their respective opinions, and accordingly we find him frequently availing himself thereof.

Private houses also were occasionally open to religious conferences, and as the principal bent of this pious young man's mind, excited by persuasion of duty, was to do good to others, or reap spiritual advantage to himself, he was zealous to attend sundry meetings of this kind, appointed in these parts where he mostly resided at this

this time, viz. his native county of Leicester-shire (to which he was now returned) and places adjacent : § Once at a meeting of fundry priests and professors at a Justice's house, and twice at Mansfield, in which he modestly offered his sentiments on the subject of disquisition, which were generally well received, and gained the assent of several of the company. § At the first meeting at Mansfield he was moved to pray (being the first time we find any account of his praying in public) and * the power accompanying his prayer was so reaching, that the house seemed to be shaken : which occasioned some of the company to remark that it was now as in the days of the Apostles, when the house was shaken where they were. The effect of his prayer on the audience, encouraged another professor present to pray also ; but (not being under a similar influence) his prayer, instead of edifying, brought deadness and a veil over the assembly, which displeasing them, he desired George to pray again, but he could not pray in man's will.

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His first appearance in public prayer.

^h Soon after this hearing of a great meeting appointed at Leicester for a dispute, wherein it was reported, that Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians were engaged, he went thither, the meeting being held in the public wroship-
George Fox attends a public dispute at Leicester.

§ George Fox's Journal, p. 13, 14.

* William Penn who knew George Fox very well, from long and intimate acquaintance, gives this character of his excellency in prayer. Above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit ; the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour ; and the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say was in his prayer.

^h George Fox's Journal, p. 15.

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1648.

Explains his
notion of a
church.

worship-house opened a general admission; and liberty being granted for any to speak, after some time of conference and reasoning, a woman present put this Question, *What birth was that which the Apostle speaks of, A being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever?* The priest replied, I suffer not a woman to speak in the church; which drew from George Fox an enquiry what he understood the Church to be, for reply, the priest returning the question George expressed his Idea thereof “That it was neither a building of lime and stones, nor a mixed multitude assembled together; but the pillar and ground of truth, a spiritual building composed of living stones, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of.” This, he writes, set them all on fire, and the dispute was marred. I own myself at a loss to discover any thing in these expressions, (which are mostly scriptural) to provoke any reasonable person to the least degree of resentment, were it not that being prepossessed in favour of received opinions, our prejudices too easily rouse our passions to their aid at the advancing of any new doctrines which have not obtained the sanction of public reception. The pride of human nature is mortified at the supposition of its being in ignorance or error, and he who endeavours to inform it better, or set it right, frequently meets with insult and ill treatment for his pains: This occasioned George Fox, a young man, obscure and illiterate, coming abroad with new doctrines, in many respects opposite to the received opinions, much enmity and persecution, as we shall find in

in the sequel; but he was on a foundation not to be shaken. At this time when the meeting was thus broken up he retired to his inn, whether he was followed by several of the priests and professors, with whom he disputed the subject afresh, and maintained his opinion of the true church, and true head thereof, till they gave out and went away. Several were convinced that day, and amongst them the woman who put the question, and her family.

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Travelling about in the central parts of the nation, and now staying more or less in a place as he found his mind engaged, his preaching of repentance, and endeavours to turn people from the evil of their ways, was attended with considerable success: the power and convincing authority attending his ministry daily encreasing the number of proselytes: So that meetings of them begun to be settled in these parts in the course of this year.

His endeavours to propagate true religion, and righteousness, the necessary concomitant thereof, were not confined to public or private meetings; but exerted in other places as occasion offered: particularly in courts of judicature, to admonish to justice, and caution against oppression: In markets to recommend truth, candour, and fair dealing, and to bear his testimony against fraud, and deceitful merchandise: At public houses of entertainment to warn against indulging intemperance, by supplying their guests with more liquor than would do them good: At schools and in private families to exhort to the training up of children and servants to sobriety in the fear of their maker; to testify against vain sports,

He endeavours on all occasions to promote righteousness.

1649.

CHAP. II. sports, plays and shews, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertinism, and from that state of circumspection and attentive consideration, wherein our salvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body.

1649.

Symptoms
of disgust
against
George Fox
and his
friends ap-
pear,

It is not improbable but this uncommon manner of intervention in places unusual might expose him to the derision of some, and resentment of others; but we meet not as yet with any instance of ill usage in his person; although the symptoms of that persecuting spirit, which soon after caused him to suffer many grievous hardships, and much injurious treatment (notwithstanding the liberal sentiments of toleration now professed) began to discover themselves in the virulent and contumelious disposition, which actuated people of all sorts against him.

for the dis-
use of cus-
tomary
compli-
ments, and
addressing
single per-
sons as such,

For upon his appearing abroad in his more public capacity, the clear impression fixed in his mind of the purity of the Christian religion, and the too general defection of the greater part of professors therefrom, produced in him cautiousness to take no man for his copy; but singly pursuing what the light in his own conscience discovered to be right, he was led into a manner of conduct in many respects singular, but, properly considered, not absurd; although contradictory to fashion, yet not contrary to reason and propriety. ¹ Viewing * the customary modes of salutation

The Qua-
kers reasons
for their
conduct.

¹ George Fox's Journal, p. 22.

* Inasmuch as this primitive simplicity of manners is still retained by the stricter sort of the people called Quakers, those who are such upon principle, and as these practices are looked upon by many to be frivolous objects of religious scruple, it seems proper in this place to recapitulate the reasons which they advance in defence of their behaviour. The practices of uncovering

lutation in uncovering the head, and bowing the
body, as owing their original to pride on one
hand, C H A P.
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uncovering the head, bowing, and bending the knee, being marks of divine worship, they think, as such, are marks of reverence not due from man to his fellow-creature; but ought to be peculiarly reserved for the worship of their Creator, since, according to the doctrine of the Apostle Paul, the head is to be uncovered in worshipping him, as a mark of veneration; and to him and his name alone every knee must bow. Now (say they) he that kneeleth and prostrateth himself to man, what doth he more to God? He that boweth to the creature, what hath he reserved for the Creator.

Secondly, the example and doctrines of the primitive Church are against such practices. Peter's refusal of such external marks of reverence from Cornelius amounts to a presumptive demonstration that such signs of veneration were neither used, nor allowed among Christians in their state of primitive purity: And in the Angel's refusing the like expression of adoration from John, saying, "See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, worship God," we have the sense of superior Beings (who have a clearer notion of the fitness of things, and of divine perfection, and approach nearer thereunto than the short-lived, dim-sighted inhabitants of this globe, that worship, and the external signs thereof belong to *God only*).

Thirdly, they scruple compliance with these customs because they were received (amongst many other gross corruptions of Christianity) through the polluted channel of Paganism in its most corrupted state. The eastern monarchs, enervated by luxury, intoxicated by the flattery of pernicious parasites, and debauched by pride and by power, were so elevated above the common state of mankind, that they seemed to look upon themselves as something more than mortals; and demanded and received the most humiliating signs of reverence to their persons from those who approached their presence; and the most extravagant titles of adulation from all who presumed to address them. But the more virtuous and wiser Greeks refused to comply with these abject modes of access and interview, as unbecoming from man to man. Yet this conduct of the Greeks seems to have met with applause and approbation, whilst the like conduct in the Quakers is censured and condemned; a signal instance of the partial, and inconsistent judgments of men, when fashion, and not propriety is the rule they judge by.

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hand, and folly and parasitical artifice on the other, introducing marks of homage to men, which they had no just claim to, and which general usage only, and neither right reason nor real religion ratified, he esteemed it his duty to bear a public testimony against these customs, by declining compliance therewith. Being by the light and precepts of the Gospel early instructed that his words should be few and favourable; conformable to sincerity and truth; void of flattery and void of deceit, he felt himself circumscribed from adopting the prevailing deviation from the original propriety and simplicity of language in using you to a single person, or giving customary compliments, or flattering titles, and accordingly, under persuasion of duty, addressed individuals of every rank with the singular appellation of * *thou* or *thee*, without respect of persons.

* Their declining the use of *you* to a single person is grounded upon the like reason, the vulgar custom being derived from the same polluted source. In the scriptures throughout, in all the antient languages, and to this day in our addresses to our maker, the proper singular *thou* and *thee* are used in speaking to one. The first instance of a deviation from this grammatical propriety, that I have met with, occurs in the last stages of the decline of the Roman empire, in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, between three and four hundred years after the commencement of the Christian æra. Eutropius addresseth to Valens, *vestra tranquillitas* [your tranquillity]. And the same author dedicated his work to the same Emperor, with the following extravagant epithets: *Domino Valenti Gothico maximo, perpetuo, augusto*. To Lord Valens Gothic, the most mighty, everlasting, and august. R. Barclay quotes from the Epistles of Symmachus to the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, these forms of address: *Vestra eternitas; your eternity. Vestrum numen, your Godhead*. So this mode of addressing one as many, oweth its origin to the Gentiles, who knew not God; to sycophants, who racked their invention for absurd and extravagant terms of adulation to their Emperors, whom, in
this

sons. This uncourtlike manner of salutation and address begat general disgust, filled the magistrates, ecclesiasticks, and laicks with indignation, and exposed George Fox and his fellow-believers to much grievous abuse in their persons, being

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Which is the occasion of much abuse and suffering to him and his friends.

this age of gross degeneracy from the manly spirit of their ancestors, they were servile and stupid enough to flatter with divine attributes while living, and enrol them among their imaginary Deities when dead. To an extravagance of Idolatry, as irreconcilable to the whole tenor of Christianity as light is to darkness, or Christ to Belial. For these reasons, this people, endeavouring to regulate their conduct and their consciences by the light they were favoured with, one might reasonably expect should have met with indulgence, rather than persecution and insult from the present rulers and teachers, whose professed principle was that every man ought to direct his conscience and interpret the scriptures according to his own convictions, light and apprehensions. What was the ground of the first reformation from Popery, but a well-founded apprehension, that in that system the beauty of Christianity was marred, and the spirit thereof lost by the introduction of foreign ceremonies, and the heterogeneous mixture of Gentile customs? And what was the ground of dissent from this first reformation, but an apprehension that it retained too much of this foreign mixture? If these reformers justify themselves in their respective separations from churches appearing to them not pure, why censure and condemn the Quakers for endeavouring to clear their system still further of heathenish vanities, introduced in the darkness of apostacy; to revert as nearly as possible to apostolical purity, and to reject every practice which hath not the stamp of divine authority upon it; much more that which in their apprehension may be offensive to the Almighty, by robbing him of his honour in a communication thereof to fallible man?

Lastly, as seekers after, and promoters of pure religion and primitive Christianity, they felt themselves restrained from practices, not only contrary to the nature and spirit of Christianity in their original; but tending to defeat the end thereof in their effect, as supplying strength and nourishment to pride and vanity in man, which the Gospel is plainly designed to weaken and destroy; and in stead thereof to introduce humility and meekness into the soul,

CHAP. being often beaten, buffeted, stoned, imprisoned
 II. and fined for no other reason but declining to
 1649. take off their hats, and to give the customary
 titles of adulation to men; customs which they
 believed to be unlawful for them to comply with:
 But they preferred the testimony of a good con-
 science, and a faithful adherence to the convic-
 tion of that which they received as truth, to the
 ease and safety of their persons, or the smiles or
 frowns of men; and for the sake of peace with
 God, patiently endured all the abuse, and ill-
 treatment they met with on this account; hereby
 giving an indubitable evidence of their sincerity,
 that they were as the Jews inward, whose praise
 was not of man but of God.

Other occa-
 sions of of-
 fence.

Their unfashionable demeanor was not the sole
 cause of the severe treatment George Fox and
 his fellow-labourers met with; their doctrine,
 their circumspect conversation, their plain-deal-
 ing and honest testimonies against religion with-
 out righteousness, carrying in them strong re-
 proof to hypocrisy and lifeless profession, were
 little less offensive to many of the ostentatious
 and formal professors of the age.

Their doc-
 trine cou-
 cerning
 Gospel mi-
 nistry the
 greatest of-
 fence of all.

But still the greatest rock of offence, and
 which created them the greatest number of ene-
 mies, and contributed as much as all the rest to
 fasten in the minds of the people an aversion too
 deeply rooted to be easily eradicated, was their
 opinion concerning Gospel ministry. They taught
 that the Gospel was free; that the Gospel mi-
 nister ought either to minister because it was his
 indispensable duty, or omit taking the charge up-
 on him; that no person ought to teach for hire,
 but that of the ability which God gave, they
 ought to give freely to the people, and their
 practice corresponded with this doctrine. A doc-
 trine;

trine, which, touching the teachers of every other denomination in a very tender part, their interest, raised against them a combined host of foes, such as have proved able to overturn kingdoms. The priests and pastors of every other class, however at variance among themselves, generally took the alarm, and united in exertions against these hated reformers; to paint them in hideous colours; to impress upon the magistrates and the people the most unfavourable opinion of the doctrine and conduct of those men who in the face of the whole world had so widely deviated from the common conduct of mankind, and broached opinions in their view so pernicious. Biassed by prejudice, and blinded by passion, their representations of this people transgressed the bounds of candour and of truth; the pulpits in the solemn hour of divine worship were converted into vehicles of calumny and fiction; every ridiculous story was circulated to their disadvantage; and all manner of pains taken to represent them, not what they were, but what their adversaries would have them thought to be. The press seconding the efforts of the pulpit, spread undeserved reproach widely, and to ages yet unborn. Men of letters, leisure and abilities, warped by the popular voice, without giving themselves time to consider this people and their doctrines attentively, joined in the common cause against them. This confederacy of enemies could vilify their reputation; abuse their persons; plunder, imprison and grievously persecute them: but could neither overset their confidence in divine support, nor prevent the increase of their numbers, till they became a very considerable body, not more remarkable for the singularities of their profession, than for the uni-

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CHAP. II. form practice of every Christian virtue, and the severity and iniquity of their sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience through three successive revolutions of government.

George Fox's imprisonment at Nottingham, and the occasion thereof.

¹ George Fox's first imprisonment was in the course of the present year at Nottingham: Coming thither on a first day of the week, under a persuasion of duty he went to the public worship, and the priest taking for his text these words of the apostle Peter, "We have a more sure word of prophecy, &c." which he expounded to be the scriptures, by which all doctrines, religions and opinions were to be tried. George Fox feeling, as he apprehended, a divine power opening his understanding into a clearer conception of the meaning of the text, and an authority to express his sense thereof, signified that this *sure word* of prophecy was not the scriptures, but the holy spirit, by which holy men gave forth the scriptures, whereby (as the surest interpreter of them) opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried: For it led men into all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, persecuted him and his apostles, while they pretended to try their doctrine by the scriptures; but erred in judgment, because they tried them without the Holy Ghost. Hereupon the officers seized him, and took him to prison, putting him into a place so filthy and intolerably noisome, that the smell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of the town, and after examination was recommended. But one of the magistrates was more kindly

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The sheriff
affected
with Geo.
Fox's testi-
mony re-
moves him
to his own
house,

kindly disposed than the rest; John Reckless, sheriff, being with his wife and family much affected with George's doctrine and the power attending it, after some time removed him to his own house: During his residence here, he had great meetings, which some persons of considerable condition in the world attended, and the Lord's power appeared eminently among them, whereby a great change was effected in the sheriff, insomuch that he and several others being excited by a sense of duty to exhort both the people and magistrates to repentance, the latter were so provoked, that they caused George Fox to be removed back from the sheriff's house to the common prison, where he lay till the assizes; yet was not then brought to his trial for any offence committed by him, for although he was ordered to be taken before the judge, the officer was so dilatory in obeying the order that the court was broken up before he got thither, at which the judge expressed his displeasure, signifying, *He would have admonished the youth, if he had been brought before him.* This backwardness in giving him an opportunity of being tried or discharged, appears to me a tacit confession that the magistrates were sensible, they had no legal cause for imprisoning him; yet they ordered him into the common jail, and detained him there some time longer*. And as far as appears, he was im-

F 2 prisoned,

from
whence he
is removed
back to the
common
prison and
detained
some time.

* Daniel Neale, in his history of the Puritans, vol. II. p. 399, &c. giving an account of the first rise of the Quakers, amongst other instances of a partial bias, either by oversight or design, gives a very palliative narration of George Fox's imprisonment there, not strictly true. "Continuing his speech," saith he, "to the disturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him

C H A P. II.
 1649.
 prisoned, detained in prison, and released at the mere will and pleasure of the magistrates of Nottingham, without any legal cause assigned. Such arbitrary exertion of power but ill agrees with that regard for chartered privileges, that equal liberty, the establishment whereof these republicans pretended to have in view, in taking up arms, and in seizing the government into their own hands.

His ill treatment in several other places.

^m The popular odium causelessly raised against an inoffensive character, injurious to none, but zealously employed in endeavours to do all the good in his power, began now to discover itself more openly; where the magistrates did not interpose their authority to imprison, the populace were stimulated to abuse. In most places whither he came, bonds or afflictions abode him. * At Mansfield

“ to the sheriff’s house: next day he was committed to the castle, but was quickly released without any further punishment.” For this assertion he quotes no authority but W. Sewel, whose account being drawn from the same authority (George Fox’s own journal) in substance corresponds with mine. Whence Daniel Neale got his information that the officers took George Fox from the church (so called) to the sheriff’s house, and that he was quickly released, he saith not; George Fox himself saith the contrary.

^m George Fox’s Journal; p. 26.

* Neale passeth over this treatment of George Fox in a very cursory manner, viz. “ After this he disturbed the minister of Mansfield in time of divine service, for which he “ was set in the stocks, and turned out of the town.” *ibid.* Where we may observe, that while George Fox’s conduct is placed in the most invidious light it would bear, *disturbing the minister, &c.* he takes not the least notice of the real disturbance raised by the priest’s own hearers, in converting the place of divine worship into a scene of lawless riot, and the time set apart for the service of God into enormous abuse of a fellow-creature; manifesting their religion to be such, at the time when it should most affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge,

Mansfield Woodhouse, speaking to the priest and congregation in their public place of worship, the people assaulted him in a furious manner, struck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands,

C H A P.
II.
1649.

revenge, and violating of the peace and order of civil society; which is another instance of the partial bias of this writer, as he had as plain an account of this riot in W. Sewel's history as of the part he selected. But perhaps he might suspect that an exhibition of such conduct might depreciate his character of the temper of the times, and state of religion under the instruction and through the zealous labours of the late dissenting pastors, now the established preachers, which he thus describes: Anno 1647, "The laws against vice and immorality were strictly executed, the Lord's day was duly observed, the churches were crowded with attentive hearers, family devotion was in repute, neither servants nor children being allowed to walk in the fields, or frequent the public houses; there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of sobriety, virtue and true religion than before the civil war, or after the *blest* restoration." And anno 1649, "There was a great appearance of sobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the Presbyterian ministers in catechising, instructing and visiting their parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized." I mean not to detract in the least from real merit, or deny diligence in discharge of duty to be very commendable and meritorious, so far. But without transgressing the bounds of candour or charity, the history of this age authorizeth the opinion, that the religion of the time had too much of the Pharisaical leaven; in the general more specious than solid; productive of a demure austerity rather than real internal holiness. Strictness in outward observations and appearances, while the sanctifying virtue of pure religion, which cleanseth the inside and destroyeth sin in the root, was too little regarded; under all the appearance of sobriety and virtue, a root of bitterness remained unpurged out in many, ready on the least opposition or provocation to break out into acts of open violence and vindictive abuse. The common people as prone to tumult and excess of riot as in a more licentious age; which dispositions are scarcely less opposite to the genuine spirit of Christianity, designed to promote peace on earth and good will to men, than profaneness or immorality.

C H A P.
II.
1649. hands, bibles and sticks, whereby he was grievously bruised. After they had thus far vented their rage, they haled him out and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours; and then they took him before a magistrate, who seeing how grossly he had been abused, after much threatening, set him at liberty. But still the rude multitude, insatiate in abuse, stoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to stand, by reason of their violent ill usage, for no other cause but exhorting them for their good. With much difficulty he reached the distance of about a mile from the town, where he met with some people humane enough to administer some cordials for his ease, being inwardly bruised. At Market Bosworth he was also stoned out of the town: and at Chesterfield he was detained in custody till late at night, and then put out of the town by officers and watchmen, and left in the dark to provide for himself as well as he could. In the midst of his sufferings he had the consolation of apprehending himself in the way of his duty, and of finding that in each place some were convinced, and others confirmed in the truth by his ministry.

Occasion
thereof.

The occasion of this repeated ill-treatment which he met with from place to place was still the same: his speaking to the priests and people in their public assemblies, to bring them off from the teachings of men to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts: Now at the first appearance of this people several others of them as well as George Fox, thought it their duty to go to the public places of worship, to declare to the priests or people the burden of the word on their minds; mostly (though not always) waiting till their worship was ended, and then

then delivering, or attempting to deliver, their sentiments in quietness (as far as I can discover from their accounts) and in as few words as possible, for which they were often treated with great violence and outrage; and to palliate such treatment, irreconcilable to the professed purity of this period, or to the good order of civil society, great pains have been taken to describe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may seem to deserve censure: Let us take a retrospective view of the manners and principles of that age, and I think we may find some cause of excuse for their seeming intrusion. This people were not single, at that time, in their sentiments concerning the Gospel-liberty of prophesying: But the Independents also as well as the Baptists adopted the opinion, that the ordained ministers or pastors had not, by any ordination of Christ, or the order observed amongst the primitive Christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church, but that all properly gifted, might speak one by one. It had been during the time of the civil war, and still continued to be no unusual practice for laymen, soldiers and others to speak or preach in the public places of worship and elsewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers. Oliver Cromwell, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland in the next year 1650, after the battle of Dunbar, vindicates the practice. Oliver having made an offer, to the ministers who had taken sanctuary in the castle of Edinburgh, or had fled, of free privilege to return to their respective parishes; the Scotch ministers in reply objected his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broken in upon the nation;

to

H A P.
II.
1649.

CHAP. II. to which Oliver answered, " " We look upon you
 1649. " as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's
 " people:—where do you find in scripture, that
 " preaching is included within your function?
 " Though an approbation from men has order
 " in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a
 " better than that hath none at all. I hope he
 " that ascended up on high may give his gifts to
 " whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the
 " seal of mission, are not you envious, though
 " Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who
 " hath bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but
 " chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apos-
 " tle explains to be a speaking to instruction,
 " edification and comfort, which the instructed,
 " edified and comforted can best tell the energy
 " and effect of."—" Indeed you err through
 " mistake of the scriptures. Approbation is an
 " act of convenience in respect to order, not of
 " necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gos-
 " pel. Your pretended fear lest error should
 " step in, is like the man that would keep all
 " the wine out of the country lest men should
 " be drunk. It will be found an unjust and un-
 " wise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he
 " hath by nature, upon a supposition he may
 " abuse it." And in answer to the governor's
 complaint That men of secular employments
 had usurped the office of the ministry, to the
 scandal of the reformed churches, he queries,
 " Are you troubled that Christ is preached?
 " Doth it scandalize the reformed churches,
 " and Scotland in particular? Is it against the
 " covenant? away with the covenant if it be
 " so. I thought the covenant and these men
 " would

“ would have been willing that any should speak
 “ good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no
 “ covenant of God’s approving, nor the kirk
 “ you mention the spouse of Christ.”

CHAP.
 II.
 1649.

By this it appears evident that a participation of the laity in ministerial offices was not only allowed but patronized by some of the leading men of that time. If then some members of this infant society, under persuasion of duty, at times made use of the liberty allowed to others, (and to several of themselves, ’till they joined this society) to deliver a short exhortation, most generally at the close of their worship, to the people assembled, as a full opportunity to discharge their duty; to give them contumelious and violent abuse on that account was as contradictory to the professed principles of the Independents, and those free notions of civil and religious liberty which they had been so active in disseminating, as to religion and the civilization boasted of; and administers ground for suspicion that they propagated these reasonable principles chiefly with sinister views, or by liberty meant, as is too common, liberty only to themselves. It is certain this society enjoyed a very precarious liberty under their rule.

C H A P. III.

George Fox is imprisoned in Derby.—Remarks thereupon.—Employs himself in writing sundry Epistles and Exhortations.—Justice Bennet gives him and his Friends the Appellation of Quakers. Note thereupon.—George Fox refuseth to be released upon Bail, for which Bennett abuseth him.—The Gaoler having been an Enemy to George Fox repents of his evil Treatment of him.—A Slander raised against the Quakers from a Soldier's Discourse with George Fox.—George Fox being solicited to go into the Army declares his Scruple against Wars.—Is imprisoned amongst Felons.—Pernicious Effects of keeping Prisoners long in Gaol.—George Fox writes to Colonel Barton, &c.—Discharged from his Imprisonment.

C H A P.
III.

1650.

He comes
to Derby,
and for
speaking at
a lecture is
imprisoned
there.

FROM Chesterfield George Fox directed his course to Derby, where he was entertained at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced, where, as 'he was walking in his chamber, hearing the bell ring, upon enquiring into the cause, he was informed that there was to be a great lecture there that day, at which many officers of the army and preachers were to be present, particularly a colonel, who was a preacher. George went to this lecture, and after it was finished spoke what was on his mind, and they heard him without molestation; but when he had done, an officer came up to him, and taking him by the hand, told him he must go before the magistrates. Being brought before them about

about the first hour afternoon, they spent the day till the ninth, in examination and consultation about him, and then committed him and another to the house of correction, by the following mittimus^a:

CHAP.
III.
1650.

“ To the Master of the House of Correction in
“ Derby, Greeting.

“ *WE have sent you herewithal the Bodies of*
“ *George Fox, late of Mansfield in the County*
“ *of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of*
“ *Staniesby in the County of Derby, Husband-*
“ *man, brought before us this present Day, and*
“ *charged with the avowed uttering and broach-*
“ *ing of divers blasphemous Opinions, contrary*
“ *to a late * Act of Parliament ; which, upon*
“ *their*

^a George Fox's Journal, p. 29.

^b † An act or ordinance had been passed near three months before by the parliament against several *atheistical, blasphemous and execrable* opinions derogatory to the honour of God, and tending to the dissolution of human society, § Enacting, that any persons not distempered in their brains, who shall maintain any mere creature to be God, or to be infinite, almighty, &c. or shall deny the holiness of God ; or shall maintain that all acts of wickedness and unrighteousness are not forbidden in holy scripture ; or that God approves of them. Any one who shall maintain, that acts of drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c. are not in themselves shameful, wicked, sinful and impious ; or that there is not any real difference between moral good and evil ; all such persons shall suffer six months imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second shall be banished ; and if they return without license shall be treated as felons.

Several other efforts were made to draw sundry members of this society within the terms, and under the penalties of this act, by accusations of blasphemy, which could never be proved against them.

† M'Auley, Appen. to vol. V. § Neale, vol. ii. p. 397.

CHAP. III.
 1650. "their Examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your Custody, and them therein safely to keep during the Space of Six Months, without Bail or Mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient Security to be of good Behaviour, or be thence delivered by Order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our Hands and Seals this 30th Day of October, 1650.

"Ger. Bennet,
 "Nath. Barton."

Remarks
 thereupon.

The magistrates of Nottingham appear to have imprisoned him without law, the magistrates of Derby would appear to commit by law; but it was law violently strained; and under such pretext of law, right and justice might be, and were grossly violated. Laws may be wrested to the purposes of malice, prepossession and passion; justice is equal, impartial and dispassionate. I know not where we meet with any opinions of George Fox which can, with any propriety, be termed *blasphemous*, or are comprehended in the terms of the act of parliament these magistrates pretend to regulate their proceedings by. His principles were as remote from the terms of blasphemy mentioned in the ordinance, as far as I find it cited, as their own or any other could be. They have stood the test of severe examination, and have been well defended against the objections of their opponents, as well by several others as by Robert Barclay in his apology.

And

And whereas the mittimus alledgeth, that CHAP.
III.
upon their examination they confessed them, viz. their *blasphemous opinions*, how far that was true will best appear from the examination itself, which, by George Fox's journal, was to this purport :

1650.

“ The magistrates asked, why they came thither? George Fox answered, “ God, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands moved us to do so.” He observed farther, all their preaching, baptism and sacrifices would never sanctify them, and bade them to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men, for it is Christ that sanctifies. And as they were very full of words, some time disputing, and some time deriding, he told them, They were not to dispute of God and Christ, but obey him. At last they asked him if he was sanctified; he replied “ yes.” “ If he had no sin:” his answer was, “ Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin.” To the next question, “ How they knew Christ was in them?” he replied, “ By his Spirit, which he hath given us.” Then they were asked if any of them were Christ: to which insidious query he answered “ Nay, we are nothing; Christ is all.” They next queried, “ If a man steal, is it no sin?” to which he replied, “ All unrighteousness is sin.”

Had these magistrates been principled against the belief of any supernatural influence; had they been men who esteemed all pretences to inspiration as mere delusion, it might administer less cause of admiration if they should interpret George Fox's reason for coming to Derby, and his directing them to Christ in them, as implying *blasphemous*

CHAP. *blasphemous opinions.* But for two independent
 III. justices, and one of them [Barton] a preacher,
 1650. who being an officer, I presume, had received
 no regular ordination, and therefore had no com-
 mission to preach, but a pretended or real gift,
 and how are spiritual gifts received if not by in-
 spiration? For magistrates whose own tenets im-
 plied a supernatural influence, and admitted no
 interference of the civil power in spiritual con-
 cerns, but were pointed in favour of universal
 toleration; for men professing such principles
 to commit to prison an inoffensive man, only for
 his religious opinions, in many respects not far
 different from those professed by them, and which
 the sequel hath proved were neither *derogatory to
 the honour of God, nor prejudicial to human society*,
 but the very reverse, is utterly irreconcilable to
 every idea which history gives us of independency:
 and a remarkable instance of the inconsistency
 of men with themselves in different stations of
 life.

For it appears evident to me that these ma-
 gistrates, tainted with the general aversion cause-
 lessly conceived against this people, were desirous
 to find an occasion to proceed to severity, in
 order as far as in their power to repress their
 growth, and that not being able to prove any
 blasphemy from George's public declaration,
 they spent so many hours in examining and de-
 liberating, to see if they could extort some un-
 wary concession, which might furnish a more
 plausible pretext to accomplish their purpose.
 The two last questions appear to be put with a
 plain design to make him an offender under the
 terms of the act, which design being defeated by
 his answers, they proceed, notwithstanding, to
 involve him in the punishment prescribed for
 blasphemy

blasphemy therein, although unconvicted, in manifest contradiction to their avowed principles of toleration. Speculative principles frequently prove too weak a check to human passions and prejudices, to prevent these latter from becoming the spring of action, with men possessed of power to gratify them.

C H A P.

III.

1650.

George Fox was now prevented from travelling by his confinement, but his mind, actively impelled by persuasion of duty, to advance the truth he believed in, to promote righteousness, and to testify against iniquity, did not suffer him to rest unemployed, for during his confinement he was much exercised in writing, particularly to the ^c priests and the magistrates of Derby: To the former, that if they had received the Gospel freely, they should minister it freely, without money or without price. That if they maintained the scripture to be their rule they ought to manifest that it was so, not by words only, but by the conformity of their lives to the doctrines and precepts thereof. To the magistrates, repeatedly pointing out the injustice and inconsistency of persecution and oppression for religion: *That the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.*

Employs
himself in
writing
sundry epistles and exhortations.

^d Neither was he, under his restraint, unmindful of his principal concern, the instruction and confirmation of those who had been convinced by his ministry. He wrote a paper to be spread abroad amongst his friends and other well disposed people, for the opening their understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves.

It

^c George Fox's Journal, p. 30, 31, &c.

^d Ibid, p. 35.

CHAP. III. * It was during his imprisonment here, that upon occasion, bidding Gervas Bennet (one of the justices who committed him) and those in company with him, *tremble at the word of the Lord*; Bennet, in an airy mind, turning this expression into a subject of ridicule and banter, in derision gave George Fox and his friends the appellation of Quakers*, by which name this

1650:
Justice Bennet gives him and his friends the appellation of Quakers.

* George Fox's Journal, p. 35.

Note there-upon.

* Other authors have given a different account of the original of this denomination, but this is taken from George Fox's journal, which I apprehend the only authentic account we have. Neale, who is followed by Mosheim, discovers on several occasions a very inimical bias when he speaks of this people, as will more fully appear when we proceed to the review of their treatment in New England. And on this occasion in particular his aversion and contempt are notoriously manifest, in his opprobrious description approaching to scurrility. It was (saith he) in the year 1650, that these *wandering lights* first received the denomination of Quakers, upon this ground, that their speaking to the people was usually attended with convulsive agonies and shakings of the body. When George Fox appeared before Gervas Bennett, Esq; one of the justices of Derby, he had one of his agitations or fits of trembling upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body bid the justice and those about him tremble at the word of the Lord, whereupon the justice gave him and his friends the name of Quakers. Now whence he received his information of the attendant circumstances we are to seek; he quotes no authority, nor could he who dates his preface in 1737 speak his own knowledge of transactions passed seventy or eighty years before; and abstracting the air of ridicule and censure in which this description is exhibited, what does it amount to? no certain symptom of error. We readily admit these promulgators of primitive Christianity had no university-education, were not trained in schools of oratory; it was plain truth and righteousness they sought to follow and recommend in a plain and simple way, without the studied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of a graceful motion; they spoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to the hearts of their auditors. Being themselves animated, and deeply

this people have since that time been distinguished. CHAP. III.

His relations being uneasy at his imprisonment, applied to the justices who committed him for his release upon bail, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds with them; whereupon he was brought before the justices, but he refused his consent to the bail, because he thought the conditions (which were that he should be of good behaviour, and come no more thither to cry against the priests) in one part, a groundless impeachment of his character, who was innocent of ill-behaviour; and in the other, a restraint from duty. Justice Bennet, who, I conjecture, would willingly have got rid of him, saving his honour, being transported with passion to a degree unbecoming his office as keeper of the peace, rose up in a rage, and as George was kneeling down to pray for him, he fell furiously upon him, and struck him with both his hands, commanding the jailer to take him away to his prison; he was accordingly carried back, and there detained.

VOL. I.

G

The

deeply affected in spirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they might be saved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righteousness, and testifying against vice and wickedness, might produce a warmth of expression and action also, which to an invidious eye might appear convulsive: But their convulsions did not bereave them of understanding; they spake with the spirit and with the understanding also, of things which they knew, and testified of things which they had seen. And their doctrine was often effectual to open the understanding of their hearers, to see clearly the states of their minds, both what they were and what they ought to be.

CHAP.

III.

1650.

The jailer,
having been
an enemy to
George Fox,
repents of
his evil
treatment.

* The keeper of the prison, an high professor, was in the number of George's enemies, he watchfully remarked his words and actions, asked many frivolous, many insidious questions, in order to draw some unwary or unguarded answer, to turn to the disadvantage of his character; but George was mercifully preserved in that innocence and circumspection of conduct, that the jailer could get no advantage against him this way; and yet it seems he spoke very wickedly of him. For which evil treatment he was one day so smitten in his own conscience, that as George Fox was walking in his chamber, he heard a mournful voice, upon which he stood to listen more attentively, and heard the jailer give the following relation to his wife: "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers, professors and justices, and in taverns and alehouses." And afterwards coming to George Fox, he made the following acknowledgment, "I have been a lion against you, but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to *Paul and Silas* trembling." The next day he went to the justices and complained to them that he and his house had been plagued for George's sake. To which (as the jailer reported) the aforesaid Gervas Bennet replied, that plagues were upon them for keeping him there: and soon after the justices gave him leave to walk a mile, in expectation that he would make use of the opportunity given him to regain his liberty, and escape out of their hands. But they were mistaken in their

* George Fox's Journal, p. 34.

† Ibid, p. 35.

their apprehensions : this man, as patient in suffering for his principles, as he was zealous and undaunted in propagating them, was too tender of the reputation of the truth he maintained, to give advantage against it to its adversaries, by obtaining his liberty in any clandestine manner; he therefore signified, if they would ascertain the extent of a mile, he might make use of the liberty sometimes. His fellow prisoner Fretwell, not being on the same foundation, observed a different conduct, for he soon found means to ingratiate himself with the jailer, and by his interference obtained leave to go see his mother, and so got his liberty; which occasioned the jailer to remark, "that man was not right, but "that George was an honest man." The jailer's sister also being sickly, visiting George in his chamber, was so affected with his discourse, as to bear testimony concerning him and his friends: "that they were an innocent people that did "harm to none, but did good to all, even to "those who hated them."

But notwithstanding his circumspect conversation, and persevering caution to minister no occasion to the adversaries to speak reproachfully, he could not long escape the obloquy of their malevolence: For among others that came to see and discourse with him in his confinement, there came a ^msoldier from Nottingham, who it was understood had been a baptist, and several along with him. In the course of their conversation this person made use of this assertion: "*Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there was never any such thing.*" George receiving this assertion with horror and amazement,

G 2

amusement, Fox.

C H A P.
III.

1650.

A slander
used a-
gainst the
Quakers
from a sol-
dier's wild
discourse
with Geo.
Fox.

C H A P. amazement, opposed it with becoming zeal, asserting on the contrary his firm belief of the scriptural account, that as certainly as there were a Chief Priest, Jews and Pilate, there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them outwardly, and suffered death by their hands. But from this conversation, notwithstanding this clear evidence of his faith, a slanderous report was raised * *That the Quakers should deny Christ, that suffered*

* This groundless calumny hath not (through the malevolence of successive adversaries) been suffered to become obsolete, being a charge brought against them (in contradiction to their positive assertion of their belief, who certainly know best what they believe) to this day. Mosheim hath revived this reputed reproach in a manner which does no honour to his candour, his moderation or his veracity. "The European Quakers (saith he) dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers as to deny openly the reality of the history of the life, mediation and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, *they are said* to express themselves without ambiguity on this subject, and to maintain publicly that Christ never existed but in the hearts of the faithful." What a specimen of illiberal misrepresentation is this! The European Quakers thought it their duty to pay obedience to the civil power in all things relating to civil peace and order: And where the laws of the state required compliances contrary to the law of God in their consciences, they were eminently remarkable for an innocent boldness in maintaining their testimonies publicly, and making open profession of their faith, notwithstanding the penalties they were exposed to, for their faithfulness to the superior law, as will abundantly appear in the sequel; no fear of civil or ecclesiastical powers ever deterred them from asserting their doctrines and sentiments in the face of the world, as believing them founded in truth. When their present persecutors were fallen from the pinnacle of power, and by the successive changes of government became again exposed to persecution themselves, they with other dissenters could disguise and conceal themselves and their sentiments to avoid the penalties to which they were obnoxious, while these Quakers, so

suffered and died at Jerusalem, which George asserted to be utterly false, "and the least thoughts of it, (said he) never came into our hearts." CHAP. III.
1650.

Although the civil war in England was terminated by the death of the late king, and the independent parliament was fixed in the seat of government.

so called, (like Daniel praying with his windows open towards Jerusalem, contrary to the king's decree) steadily adhered to their principles, and openly professed them, without shrinking at the danger, or skulking in corners to avoid detection. They were not ashamed to avow their principles, nor afraid of suffering for them; so far were they from not daring to presume upon the indulgence of the civil or ecclesiastical powers, in preserving the testimony of a good conscience.

How egregiously uncandid then, uncharacteristic and ill-founded is the insinuation, as if the Quakers privately held one opinion, and for fear of detection publicly avowed the contrary; and what proof or authority doth he advance in support of this disingenuous *innuendo*? truly none at all. Is the Chancellor of the university of Gottingen a title of such consequence as to make his *ipse dixit* pass for a demonstration, or is the testimony of an high Dutch D. D. to whom this people were not known, deserving of any credit, without the clearest and most incontestible authority? I have not the opportunity of as intimate an acquaintance with the Americans as the Europeans; yet I believe that the faith of the people called Quakers is the same in this respect all the world over; and although the discipline exercised amongst them relates chiefly to their moral conduct, yet I am firmly persuaded that if any member or any body of that people should maintain the doctrine, which this author insinuates they do, the body at large, in their collective capacity, would reject them and their doctrine together. And really, when so heavy a charge is recorded as history with an air of confidence, upon no better grounds than hearsay, one is apt to be at a loss which to admire most, the want of charity, modesty or integrity in the writer.

This passage also conveys a caution how warily we ought to receive for truth the calumnious representations of this people at this æra, when we find how readily every wild notion or action of any person, whom chance threw amongst them, though not of their society at all, was by public rumour affixed to them.

CHAP. government there, yet Ireland remained to be
 III. subdued, and the ruling party in Scotland had
 come to a resolution, after the execution of
 1650. Charles I. to acknowledge his son Charles II. as
 George Fox his successor, and upon very humiliating condi-
 solicited to go into the army, declares his scruple against wars. tions received and proclaimed him their king.
 The parliament of England therefore being
 likely to have a double war on their hands,
 thought it necessary to augment their forces, and
 many new soldiers being raised at this time,
 when ^a George Fox's term of commitment to
 the house of correction was nearly expired; the
 commissioners invited him to accept the office of
 a captain, and the soldiers were desirous to have
 him for their commander; for which purpose
 being by the keeper of the house of correction
 brought up before the commissioners, in the mar-
 ket place, they there made him the offer of that
 preferment (as they called it) asking him if he
 would not take up arms for the commonwealth
 against Charles Stuart. He told them, he knew
 from whence all wars did arise, even from the
 lusts, and that he lived in the virtue of that life
 and power that took away the occasion of all
 wars. And they pressing him more earnestly
 with a shew of kindness to accept of their offer,
 which they said they made out of regard to his
 virtues, and he still rejecting their proposals, and
 persisting to testify against all wars and fightings,
 their pretended regard to his virtue quickly gave
 way to the impetuosity of their resentment at his
 peremptory refusal, and probably at his pointed
 testimony against their warring spirit under their
 religious pretensions. They immediately com-
 manded the jailer to put him into the common
 jail

^a George Fox's Journal, p. 42.

jail among the felons; into a most filthy prison, without any bed, he was accordingly thrust amongst thirty felons, and kept there near half a year, the companion of thieves (except that he was allowed the privilege of walking in the garden sometimes.) What power of arbitrarily imprisoning these commissioners were invested with, or whether by martial or civil law, or any law but that of their own wills, we are uninformed. But this seems certain, that they were filled with rage against him, and had power to gratify it; which they did with unjustifiable severity: For what greater punishment could be inflicted on a tender innocent youth, who feared God, and detested every species of wickedness, than to be thus pent up and confined in the company and conversation of the vilest of mankind. It was in some degree analogous to the cruelty of the tyrant, who is feigned to have tied the living to the dead: Their bad expressions, and the obscenity of their conduct and conversation, were no less grievous to him than the filthiness and inconvenience of the prison in which they were stowed together. However, not discouraged by the prospect of the danger he might be exposed to, he felt himself frequently constrained to reprove them for their wicked words and evil carriage towards each other. Yet it doth not appear he received any ill usage from them, and people wondered he was so preserved from harm amongst such company: And those who watched for his halting could never catch a word or action from him to turn to his disadvantage, which he did not attribute to his own wisdom or strength, but to the preserving power of that Divine Being, to whose service he was sincerely devoted.

CHAP.
III.
1650.
Imprisoned
amongst felons.

During

CHAP.
III.

1651.
Pernicious
effects of
keeping pri-
soners long
in jail.

During his confinement ° he had occasion to remark the pernicious effects of keeping prisoners long in jail, as it furnished them opportunity, by recounting their feats of villainy, to corrupt one another still more, and to initiate the fresh men into all the mysteries of ingenious or daring depredation, so that they generally came from thence more confirmed in vice and debauchery. He therefore thought it his duty to communicate his observations hereon to the judges, and to point out the necessity of speedy justice to prevent these bad consequences, so prejudicial to the peace and security of society.

Although few, if any, could be more circumspect to avoid sin and evil in their own particulars, and few were more averse to them in others, yet he was affected with commiseration for those unhappy wretches who forfeited their liberty and lives to the laws of their country by their illicit practices; and especially that the lives of men should be taken away even for small thefts. The compassion he felt on that account, particularly for a young woman in prison, for robbing her master of some money, induced him to write to the judges and magistrates to move them to mercy in such cases, shewing them how contrary it was to the old law: That in the Jewish state thieves were to make restitution; and if they wanted ability, they were to be sold for their theft; putting them in mind to shew mercy, that they might receive it from the judge of all. Whatever effect his interposition might have, the young woman abovementioned was reprieved at the gallows,

gallows, and was afterwards in prison convinced. CHAP. III.

The Scots, after the unfavourable battle of Dunbar, were obliged to admit their king to a greater participation of power than before that event their jealousy of him suffered them to entrust him with, and to admit him to a command in their army, which was so advantageously posted, and so well supplied with provisions from the northern parts, that Cromwell was unable to force them to an engagement, and therefore passed northward in order to cut off their provisions, but by this movement left the passes into England unguarded. Charles, in expectation of being joined by all his friends, and the malecontents under the present government, seized the advantageous opportunity presented to him, and advanced by great marches into the heart of England. Cromwell, to repair this oversight, pursuing with equal alacrity, overtook and defeated the Scots at Worcester, which finally decided the contest, and left the independent parliament undisputed masters of the empire.

^P This sudden and unexpected invasion without doubt created a great alarm in the nation, and excited the adherents to the present government to zealous exertions in procuring recruits from all quarters, to repel the invaders; upon this occasion Justice Bennet sent a constable to press George Fox for a soldier; but he who would not voluntarily accept of a command, and that from a conscientious scruple, was not like to comply with their requisition. The constables brought him before the commissioners,

CHAP.

III.

1651.

tioners, who positively insisted on his entering into the military line, and he acting upon principle, and persisting in his refusal, they committed him to close imprisonment, without bail or mainprize; whereupon he again appealed to their feelings in a letter addressed to Colonel Barton, and the rest who were concerned in his commitment, in which, through the simplicity of his style, the christian temper which dictated it is apparent; in substance as follows:

George Fox
writes to
Col. Barton,
&c.

" You who profess yourselves to be christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ, consider neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but his command was, "*Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you.*" The love of God persecuteth none, but loveth all: Take heed of owning Christ in words, and denying him in life and power. The imprisoning my body is to gratify your own wills, but beware of giving way thereto, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had [tendered] your hearts ye would not have imprisoned me, but my love is to you as to all my fellow-creatures; and my intent in writing to you is, [in order] that you may [be incited to] weigh yourselves, [in the balance of sincerity and equity] and see how you stand. [approved in the sight of God]

It is not improbable that this letter, together with the innocency and circumspection of his conduct, made an impression upon them; for they now began to grow uneasy about him, from a consciousness, I suppose, of their exertion of an arbitrary and unjust power against an inoffensive man, in whom they could find no crime to justify

justify their proceedings: For notwithstanding their former representation of him as a deceiver, seducer and blasphemer, his innocency and integrity of life had so far gotten the better of their prejudices, that they now acknowledged him to be an honest and virtuous man. Let the world say what they will, God hath placed a witness for himself in the consciences of all men which convinceth them of evil, whereby they may be brought to see their errors, but (it being too humiliating to acknowledge them) to preserve a reputation, they often endeavour to conceal their perception thereof from the observation of others. They wanted to rid their hands of him, but how to preserve some appearance of consistency and palliate the severity of their treatment seems to have been a subject of perplexity. One while they talked of sending him up to the parliament, another of banishing him to *Ireland*. At length they set him at liberty in the beginning of the winter 1651, after detaining him in prison near twelve months, six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common prison.

C H A P.
III.

1651.

George Fox
discharged
from his
imprison-
ment.

^r George Fox's Journal, p. 48.

C H A P. IV.

George Fox recommences his Travels and Gospel Labours.—Much abused by the Populace.—His Patience in Suffering.—Remarkable Success of his Ministerial Labours at Sedbergh and Firbank Chapel.—John Audland and Francis Howgil being convinced return Money they had received for preaching.—Edward Burrough convinced.

C H A P.
IV.

1651.
George Fox
recommences his
travels and
gospel labours, to
the conviction
of several

GEORGE FOX having regained his liberty, pursued his travels, and had meetings in several places in Nottinghamshire and in Derbyshire, and thence he passed into Yorkshire. ^a Richard Farnsworth, among several others, was convinced at Balby: at Wakefield, James Naylor, and William Dewsbury and his wife, with many others, were also convinced. These three men became powerful coadjutors to George Fox in the ministry of the gospel. Of these William Dewsbury had been immediately convinced of the internal principle of light and grace before he saw George Fox; but when he met him he found they were in the unity of the same spirit, and thereupon gave him the right hand of fellowship, and joined him in society and in his ministerial labours.

At Beverly
preaches
with great
power.

Passing on to Beverly he went to the public worship-house; and after the preacher had done he exhorted him and the people, directing them to Christ their teacher with such an authority as brought a great dread and awfulness over the assembly,

^a George Fox's Journal, p. 49, &c.

fembly, and his ministry in these parts was effect-
 tual to the convincement of many people, and
 amongst them some persons of account: Captain
 Pursloe and justice Hotham were in the number
 of his friends and favourers of his doctrine,
 being convinced in their understandings, though
 it doth not appear they openly joined him in
 profession, yet their countenance and favour were
 conducive to protect him from the insults and
 abuse, to which in some other places he had been
 exposed.

CHAP.
 IV.
 1651.

^b That an extraordinary power attended his
 ministry in this place appears from a relation of
 this justice Hotham. "That a great woman
 " coming to him upon business, told him in dis-
 " course that the last sabbath-day there was an
 " angel or spirit came into the church at Be-
 " verly, and spoke the wonderful things of God,
 " to the astonishment of all that were there;
 " and when it had done it passed away, and
 " they did not know whence it came or whither
 " it went." Now, although this relation may
 seem the effect of a superstitious imagination,
 yet her account bears the marks of an uncom-
 mon influence attending his ministry, whereby
 the audience were greatly affected.

In the afternoon of the same day he went to
 another worship-house about two miles from Be-
 verly, where, after the preacher had done, he
 spoke very largely, and expounded the way of
 life and truth, and the grounds of election and
 reprobation. The people were so much affected
 with his doctrine, that they requested him to fa-
 vour them with another opportunity of hearing
 him; but he directed them to a better instruc-

tor

CHAP. IV. tor that would abide with them, the spirit of
 1651. Christ in their own hearts, and so passed away.
 For it was not his desire to seek men's admiration
 or respect, so much as to obtain and preserve
 peace with his Maker, in consequence of the
 faithful discharge of his duty; or to gather a
 party to himself as a leader; as to gather the
 people to their internal teacher, who points out
 the way to walk in, when we turn to the right
 hand or to the left.

1652. c Continuing in the prosecution of his travels
 and of his ministry, he met with various suc-
 cess, and a variety of occurrences which the
 limits I have prescribed to myself do not allow
 me particularly to relate. He went on north-
 ward through most parts of Yorkshire, where he
 met with little or no restraint from the magis-
 trates; but received much abuse from the rude
 multitude in many places. He also repeatedly
 experienced the want of hospitality in these parts,
 being refused entertainment or lodging at the
 inns, though he offered to pay for both; whereby
 he was obliged several times to take up his lodg-
 ing in the open air, or under such shelter as he
 could meet with in the fields; yet being on a
 good foundation, and engaged in a good cause,
 he was not discouraged by these hardships from
 a steady perseverance in the way of his duty.

Much a-
 bused by
 the popu-
 lace.

His pati-
 ence in
 sufferings.

And under these sufferings he manifested on
 all occasions the meek and forgiving temper of a
 Christian; as at Tichhill, where the clerk struck
 him so violently with a bible in the public wor-
 ship-house, as to make his face run down with
 blood, where, after this the people thrust him
 out of the steeple-house, threw him down and
 dragged

dragged him along the street, and took away his hat : When he got up, covered with blood and dirt, he only endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their doings, by representing to them how inconsistent their conduct was with the peaceable spirit of Christians, and how they dishonoured Christianity thereby : and some moderate justices who had heard how he was abused, coming to examine into this riot, he would not appear as an accuser against any of them ; but freely forgave them all, evidencing in his example, that he was not as those whom he found it his duty frequently to reprove, who speak of Christ and the scriptures, while they do not conform their lives thereto ; but that he was especially careful to regulate his whole conversation by that internal principle of light and grace which he preached to others, and by the uniformity of a Christian conduct to exemplify the excellency thereof. This, doubtless, greatly contributed to give success to his plain but prevailing ministry, which he continued to exert for the gathering of the people from the uncertain teachers of the world, to Christ the unerring teacher and sure guide to salvation.

Coming to Sedbergh on a fair day, and preaching first in the fair, and afterwards retiring into the steeple-house yard, abundance of people flocked after him, when he preached several hours. Several priests were present, yet none of them made the least objection or opposition to his doctrine ; but one Francis Howgill, an independent preacher, was so much affected therewith, as well as the powerful manner of delivering it, as to acknowledge, "*This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes.*"

Remarkable success of his ministerial labours at Sedbergh,

Many

CHAP.
IV.
1652.

CHAP. Many were convinced that day, and amongst
IV. them Captain Ward.

1652.
and at Fir-
bank cha-
pel.

On the first day following he went to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill afore said, and John Audland, had been preaching in the morning. About noon, after refreshing himself with a little water from a brook, he sat down on the top of a rock contiguous to the chapel, in order to hold a meeting there; at this the people, who had been accustomed to look upon the church, so called, as a sacred edifice, where only worship could be properly celebrated, seemed surprized that he did not go into the chapel; but he, esteeming it part of his mission to bring them off from their superstitious veneration for these places, which priestcraft, in the dark ages, had introduced, informed them that there was no inherent sanctity in the ground or building beyond that on which he stood. To a large audience of many hundreds he preached for a considerable space of time, directing them to the spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God, &c. He was largely opened in his ministry at this time, and was attended with a convincing power and authority, greatly affecting the hearts of the auditory, whereby many of them, and in particular the teachers of that congregation, became proselytes to his doctrine; of these were John Audland and Francis Howgill, both of whom having been zealous preachers amongst the Independents, became in some time noted publishers of these doctrines, which, through the ministry of George Fox, they had embraced as truth; and as these doctrines condemned as antichristian

John Audland and Francis Howgill being convinced, return the money they had received for preaching.

antichristian the teachers for hire, they gave back the money they had received from the parish of Colton in Lancashire for preaching there.

CHAP.
IV.
1652.

George went from thence to Preston-Patrick and Kendal, at each of which places he had meetings to good effect, many being gained over to the acknowledgment of the truth published by him; and in these places are large meetings of the people called Quakers to this day. From Kendal he proceeded to Under-barrow, accompanied by several persons, with whom he had much reasoning, especially with Edward Burrough, a young man of good natural parts, yet not able to withstand the solid expressions and weighty truths delivered by George Fox. This Edward Burrough became an eminent member of this community; and during his short life, a principal promoter and supporter of its cause, both in his discourse and writings.

C H A P. V.

George Fox goes to Swarthmore.—Lecture at Ulverston, at which George Fox preaches; and in Judge Fell's Family, who are most of them convinced.—The Judge informed, and alarmed thereat.—His Wife in a distressing Dilemma.—George Fox vindicateth himself and his Doctrines to the Judge's Satisfaction.—Priest Lampit endeavours to incense Judge Fell against George Fox in vain.—Justice Sawrey stirs up the Rabble, from whom George Fox and others receive violent Abuse—Instances of more violent Abuse.—Judge Fell issues Warrants to apprehend the Rioters.—George Fox accused of Blasphemy, acquitted, and encouraged to preach, whereby several are convinced.

C H A P.
V.

1652.

George Fox goes to Swarthmore. Lecture at Ulverstone; George Fox preacheth there.

HE next passed over to Lancashire by Cartmel and Ulverstone to Swarthmore, the seat of Thomas Fell, a Welch judge, who was upon his circuit when George Fox came to his house, being an house of hospitality, open for the reception of ministers and religious people. Next day there being a lecture at Ulverston, George Fox went to it; when he came in they were singing, and after they had finished this part of their service, he stood upon a seat, and desired liberty to speak, which was granted: He there so plainly distinguished the essential from the professional part of religion, that Judge Fell's wife Margaret was effectually reached, so that she sat down in her pew and wept bitterly, crying

ing in her spirit, "We are all thieves! we are
 "all thieves! We have taken the scripture in
 "words, and know nothing of them in our-
 "selves." George proceeding in his discourse,
 and declaring against the false prophets, who
 take upon them to explain other men's words,
 while they were out of the life and spirit of
 those whose expressions they pretended to ex-
 plain, John Sawrey, a justice of peace, ordered
 him to be taken away; and after some time a
 constable executing the order, he continued
 his exhortation to the people in the grave-yard.
 In the evening he returned to Judge Fell's, and
 had an opportunity to preach in the family to
 that effect that most of them were convinced by
 him. Being a family of note their conversion
 made a great noise in the country, and raised
 George Fox many enemies, several of whom
 met the judge on his return home, and pre-
 possessed him with the melancholy intelligence,
 "That a great disaster had befallen his family;
 "that the Quakers were witches, and had
 "turned them from their religion; and that
 "he must send them away, or all the country
 "would be undone." Under the affecting im-
 pression of this report he reached his house in
 perturbation, displeasure, and anxiety of mind;
 nor was the anxiety of his wife short of his,
 for being clearly convinced of the truth of the
 doctrines delivered by George Fox, she thought
 it her duty to adhere thereto, and yet her af-
 fectionate regard for her husband filling her
 with reluctance at the thoughts of giving him
 uneasiness, she felt herself in a distressing strait,
 between the apprehension of displeasing her hus-
 band, or offending her maker; but James Nay-
 lor and Richard Farnsworth being then in the

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V.

1652.

Preacheth
in Judge
Fell's fami-
ly, whereby
most of
them were
convinced.The Judge
informed,
and alarm-
ed thereat.His wife
in a distress-
ing dilem-
ma.

CHAP.

V.

1652.

George Fox
vindicates
himself and
his doctrine
to the
Judge's sa-
tisfaction.

house, at her desire had a conference with him, in which they conducted themselves with so much prudence and moderation as greatly conduced to mitigate his displeasure; and in the evening George Fox returned, and finding that Judge Fell was greatly prejudiced and incensed against him and his principles, by the misrepresentations of the priests and professors, and in particular by those of Justice Sawrey, he entered into a free discussion of his principles and doctrines; answered all the judge's objections so fully and clearly from scripture that he was thoroughly satisfied, and assented to the truth and reasonableness thereof. This judge's conduct was truly candid and respectable, highly becoming his station as a judge, and honourable to his character as a man and a christian, to hear the defendant before he condemned him, and to indulge him with a fair opportunity of vindicating himself from the misrepresentations of malice and prejudice. Had George Fox, his adherents, and their successors, always met with the like candid treatment, they had not been so often, and so lately unfairly represented to the world through malice or ignorance, by those who do not love, or those who do not know them.

Priest Lam-
pit endeav-
ours to in-
cense Judge
Fell against
George Fox
in vain.

The next morning after this conference, Lampit, priest of Ulverstone, paid a visit to the judge, and walking out with him into the garden, he had much conversation with him, no ways in favour of his new guests, to whom he was no friend; but his attempts against them were of little effect, for the judge was too clearly convinced by the evening conference with George Fox, not to receive easily impressions to their prejudice. Instead of listening to the insinua-

ons of the priest, he soon gave a demonstrative proof of his favourable disposition to the Quakers by a voluntary offer of his house for a meeting place, in consequence whereof there was a pretty large meeting the first day following, and thenceforward a settled meeting continued in that house 'till the year 1690, when a new meeting-house was built there.

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1652.

This impression on judge Fell's mind in their favour was very mortifying to those who wished the suppression of this rising society, as in him they found a steady friend and protector: Justice Sawrey and ——— Lampit, priest of Ulverstone, were particularly chagrined hereat, and let no favourable opportunity slip of gratifying their resentment, and making them feel the effects of their aversion and ill will. Soon after this there being a lecture day at Ulverstone, and Judge Fell being from home, George Fox went to the worship-house on that occasion, and attempting to speak there, Sawrey came up to him and told him if he would speak according to the scriptures he might speak; George replied, he should speak according to the scriptures, and prove his doctrine thereby: Then Sawrey insisted, in plain contradiction to his own voluntary proposal, that he should not speak at all; notwithstanding which he proceeded to make use of the liberty given him, and the people were attentive and heard him with satisfaction, 'till Sawrey (the first promoter of persecution in the North) incensed them against him, and incited them to abuse him greatly. By the instigation of this man, the place and time of worship were converted into a scene of riot and tumult, for there George Fox was kicked, knocked down and trampled upon in his presence. At last Sawrey

This priest and Sawrey displeased, stir up the rabble,

from whom Geo. Fox and others receive violent abuse.

rey

CHAP. V. rey took him from the people, and delivered him
 to the constables and other officers, with orders
 to whip him and put him out of the town, which
 orders having executed in a rough and violent
 manner, they delivered him over to the rude
 multitude, who being provided with staves,
 hedge-stakes and bushes of holly, assaulted him
 with such fury, and beat him in various parts of
 the body, head, arms and shoulders, to that de-
 gree that he fell down fainting and senseless on a
 wet common. After lying a while he recovered,
 and the return he made them was an endeavour
 to bring them to a sense of the inconsistency of
 their conduct with Christianity, informing them
 that this carriage was more like that of Heathens
 or Jews than true Christians, and manifested the
 fruits of their priest's ministry. Returning to
 Swarthmore, he found his friends there hu-
 manely employed in dressing the wounds of those
 who had been cut and bruised by Lampit's
 hearers. For although the chief force of their
 violence had fallen on George Fox, several
 others, not only of those who openly joined in
 profession with him, but of such also as disco-
 vered a partiality towards them who did, in this
 day of lecture perverted into riot, felt the in-
 jurious effects of the license given to a mob, di-
 vested of the restraints of law, religion and hu-
 manity.

Remark.

At this time the current of popular odium
 ran very strongly against this inoffensive people
 hereaway; and it is not to be wondered at that
 the unthinking multitude should give the loose
 rein to their propensity to evil, when those
 whose proper business it was to restrain them,
 and to instruct them better, so far forgot the duty
 of their offices as to encourage and abet this
 mischievous

1652.

mischievous disposition in them. Magistrates (invested with power to preserve peace and good order in the state, to support the laws, and to be "a terror to evil-doers; and a praise to them that do well") yielding to the influence of their teachers, or the impulse of their passions, so far as to instigate the populace to acts of riot, in violation of law, peace and justice. * Preachers (who ought to promote righteousness, truth and christian forbearance) prostituting the pulpits to the unbecoming purpose of propagating calumny, in malicious misrepresentations and fabulous tales, in order to set off the Quakers, so called, in odious colours, and to point them out as objects of detestation, insult and abuse,

By such unjustifiable proceedings were the populace stimulated to rage and violence against this people, who did injury to none. George Fox in about two weeks after the abuse he met with at Ulverstone, passing over to the island of Walney in company with James Naylor, there

One Marshall, priest of Wakefield, was not ashamed to promulgate this ridiculous report, that George Fox carried bottles about him, and by making people drink thereof made them follow him. That he rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one county upon his horse in one hour, and in the same hour in another county threescore miles off; but by these absurd fictions he missed his aim, so far as to drive away many of his hearers.

Camelford, priest of a chapel about Carmel, upon George Fox's beginning to speak after he had done, incited the rude multitude to fall upon him, who hated him out, struck and kicked him, and threw him headlong over a stone wall.

An idle report was propagated of the Quakers being witches (as appears by the intelligence carried to Judge Fell) than which none could be invented more mischievous among the superstitious vulgar of those days, who not only believed such reports, but that no treatment could be too bad for those who lay under the imputation of being such.

CHAP. V. met with equal or greater abuse. At Cockan a man snapped a pistol at him, but it would not go off; and he was no sooner landed on the island than he was assaulted by about forty men, armed with staves and fishing poles, with an intent to push him into the sea, which when he prevented, by pressing into the midst of them, he was knocked down and stunned: For James Lancaster, having been convinced there, they pretended that he had bewitched him, and promised his wife if she would let them know when he came there they would put him to death, and this seemed to be their intention; "but" (says he) "the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take my life." James Lancaster's wife was amongst the foremost in this assault, for when George Fox recovered his senses he observed her busy in throwing stones at his face, while her husband was endeavouring to protect him from the violence of the multitude, by covering him with his own body, to keep off the blows and stones aimed at him; but this woman being afterwards convinced, repented of the evil she had been hurried into in this abuse, as did some others of those concerned therein. When George at length recovered his feet they beat him down again into the boat, which James Lancaster observing, came to him and set him back over the water; and when he got off they fell on James Naylor in the like unmerciful manner. When George Fox landed again at Cockan he met with no better treatment, for the people there rose upon him with pitchforks, flails and staves, crying out, "*kill him*;" and after giving him much abuse, drove him some way out of the town and left him, after which he walked three miles to a friend's

a friend's house named Thomas Hutton, where
 Thomas Lawfon (who had been a priest, and
 was convinced by George Fox) lodged. When
 arrived at this house he was hardly able to speak
 by reason of the wounds and bruises he had
 received, and could barely inform them of
 the jeopardy in which he left James Naylor,
 whereupon they mounted their horses, went in
 search of him, and brought him thither that
 night.

Next day Margaret Fell sent an horse to fetch
 him to Swarthmore, but it was with great dif-
 ficulty, and in much pain he got thither, through
 the soreness of his bruises, being scarce able to
 bear the motion of the horse.

Then the justices Sawrey and Thompson is-
 sued a warrant against him, but judge Fell
 coming home prevented its present effect: He
 was greatly displeased with the abusive treat-
 ment which George Fox and his friends had
 received in his absence, representing to Sawrey
 the impropriety and illegality of his conduct in
 fomenting riots and tumults in the country.

He also sent forth warrants into the isle of Wal-
 ney to apprehend the rioters, whereupon some
 of them absconded. Desiring George Fox to
 give him a narrative of his abuse, he only
 told him, "They could do no otherwise in the
 "spirit wherein they were; that they mani-
 "fested the fruits of their priests ministry, and
 "their profession of religion to be wrong;"
 which made the judge remark, he spoke as of a
 matter in which he had no concern.

His enemies did not rest satisfied with stirring
 up the rabble against him, they next made an
 attempt

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 1652.

Judge Fell
 issues war-
 rants for
 apprehend-
 ing the riot-
 ers,

C H A P. attempt to endanger his life * by a false accusa-
 V. tion of speaking blasphemy in a certain meet-

ing, and suborned false witnesses against him to
 1652. prove it. Upon their information it was that
 George Fox accused of blasphemy and acquitted.
 the before-mentioned justices granted their war-
 rant to apprehend him, which, although it was

not executed, George Fox, whose fortitude, sup-
 ported by the consciousness of his integrity and
 innocence, never declined a fair trial of his
 doctrine or practice, hearing of it, voluntarily
 appeared at the ensuing sessions at Lancaster to
 face his accusers, and hear what they had to lay
 to his charge. There appeared not less than
 forty priests to aid and abet the accusation, who
 chose one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, for their
 orator; a young priest, and two priests' sons,
 for witnesses; but these witnesses failed of an-
 swering their ends; for after the first was ex-
 amined, the second on his examination was so
 much at a loss to answer the questions put to
 him, that he acknowledged *he could not say it*,
 (I suppose repeat the blasphemous expressions);
but the other could,

This drew the following interrogatory reproof
 from the justices: "Have you sworn it, and
 given it in already upon oath, and now say
 that he can say it? It seems you did not hear
 those words spoken yourself, though you have
 sworn it."

There were in the court several persons, men
 of integrity and reputation in the country, who
 had been at that meeting wherein the witnesses
 swore he uttered those blasphemous expressions;

who

* By the ordinance of the Parliament, as they called
 themselves, if he had been convicted, he was to be banished,
 and returning without license was judged felony.

who declared in court, "That the oath which CHAP.
 " these evidences had taken was altogether V.
 " false; and that no such words as they had
 " sworn against him were spoken by him at that
 " meeting." 1652.

The justices finding the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that the prosecution was malicious, discharged him. Then Judge Fell, after speaking to the justices who granted the warrant, and shewing them the errors thereof, in concert with Colonel West, granted a supersedeas to stop its execution. * This confederacy of priests to inflict punishment on an innocent man, and to stop the progress of those doctrines he propagated, received a signal defeat in both attempts. For he was not only honourably acquitted in the open sessions of the false accusations with which their malice had charged him, to their lasting disgrace and confusion; but, being called upon by the aforesaid Colonel West, that if he had any thing to say to the people he might freely declare it; He, feeling a proper qualification, made use of the liberty granted him; and though he met with opposition from some of the angry priests, they were so clearly confuted, and divine truths so plainly and powerfully opened by him, that many new profelytes to his doctrine were gained that day; and amongst them Justice Benson of Westmoreland, Major Ripan, mayor of Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs (who had shewn much aversion and opposition to the Quakers)

Acquitted,

and encouraged to preach, whereby several were convinced.

* When we see the lengths these priests could go to wreak their malice, have we not reason to suspect their descriptions of this people of being tinged with the same spirit, and therefore to be credited with caution, and some grains of allowance for the disposition in which they were written?

CHAP. V. Quakers) was so effectually convinced, that he became a faithful minister of the gospel amongst them, and so continued to the end of his days.

1652.

CHAP. VI.

The Society encreaseth under their Sufferings.—Sufferings of James Naylor.—James Naylor imprisoned for not putting off his Hat, and as a Vagabond; and Francis Howgill along with him.—James Naylor tried for Blasphemy and acquitted.—Note on Nicholson and Burn's Extract from Higginson's Memoirs.—Imprisonment of Thomas Aldam.

CHAP. VI. BY patient suffering, through divine support, and the testimony of a good conscience, through zealous exertions of their ministerial labours, under persuasion of duty; the combined efforts of a licentious populace, of malevolent priests and professors, and of persecuting magistrates, proved ineffectual to check the progress of this society. Meetings of this people were now settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation, and several of them had joined in the work of the ministry with the approbation and to the edification of their fellow members, so that the number of preachers was augmented to twenty-five, amongst whom Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, John Canam, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, with the three before-mentioned,

The Society encreases under their sufferings.

1652.

mentioned, viz. Richard Farnsworth, William Dewsbury and James Naylor, were eminent for their services and their sufferings; for they had not only a share with George Fox in his ministerial labours, but also in his mal-treatment.

CHAP.

VI.

1652.

* For in the course of this year James Naylor and Francis Howgill were both imprisoned at Appleby; James being at a meeting at Orton, five priests with many people came thither; the priests asked him many questions, to which he gave such answers as frustrated their purposes of ensnaring him in his words. However, against the succeeding first day, they had prepared sermons filled with invectives against him, representing him as a blasphemer, a denier of the resurrection and humanity of Christ, and a contemner of authority; and some of them indulged their spleen so far (as their hearers reported) as to assert it would be doing God service to knock him down. Having thus prepared the ruder sort of people, and one of the priest's sons drawing a great company of them together, beset the house where he was, and dragged him with violence into a field, where a justice, sent for by a priest, was present, who commanded him to answer such questions as the priest should put to him, who after much conference, getting little advantage against him, grew angry, and warning the people not to receive him into their houses turned away, and the people beginning to be abusive, the justice was about doing the same, as if they intended leaving him to the mercy of the populace. But at James's remonstrance, the justice turning back rescued him for the present: yet at the instance of the priests, who were displeased

Sufferings
of James
Naylor.

CHAP.
VI.

1652.

James Naylor imprisoned for not putting off his hat, and as a vagabond,

and Francis Howgill along with him.

J. Naylor tried for blasphemy, and acquitted.

pleased thereat, he was again seized by the rabble, and brought before the priests and justice, at a neighbouring alehouse, and because he did not put off his hat, they committed him to prison for his pretended contempt, and also as being a vagabond, under pretence, that none there knew whence he came; for they had shut out all his acquaintances: Upon his appealing to the justice that he knew him, they having been in the army together several years, the justice replying it was no matter, made his mittimus and carried him to Kirby-steven that night and placed a guard over him. Amongst several more of his friends, Francis Howgill accompanied him thither, who took an opportunity to preach to the people, a considerable number being gathered in the street; upon which, being brought before a justice, after an examination, in which they endeavoured to wrest his expressions in order to criminate him, he was likewise put under a guard, and next day, together with James Naylor, sent to Appleby gaol.

At the sessions held in Appleby in the month called January, 1652, James Naylor was tried on an indictment for blasphemy; but after a long examination, it appearing that the * priests could

* Nicholson and Burn, authors of reputation, have thought it worth while to draw from obscurity to public view, as late as the year 1777, an extract from some memoirs of Higginson, vicar of Kirby Steven, (one of the priests before-mentioned, and the only one mentioned by name, as a principal in promoting the abuse offered James Naylor by the populace, and this prosecution for blasphemy) containing a recital of various extravagancies committed by the people called Quakers at this period;—such as foaming, bellowing out “repent, repent; wo, wo,” &c. some of them running naked about the streets, and preaching naked at the market-crofs—many

could not make out the charge exhibited against him, he was discharged by the justices from his imprisonment,

C H A P.
VI.

1652.

of them in their assemblies falling down suddenly as in an epileptic fit, and lying grovelling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, their lips quavering, their flesh and joints trembling, and their bellies swelling like a blown bladder: All which easily accounts for the name of Quakers being given them.—In their preaching they called themselves the way, the truth and the life.—One James Milner declared himself to be the son of God and Christ.

The narration from which this abstract was taken was republished in the Monthly Review for March, 1778, which gave occasion to the following remonstrance to the reviewers, published in the succeeding Review.

“ To the Authors of the Monthly Review.

“ Gentlemen,
“ You have selected an extract from Nicholson and Burn’s History of Westmorland in your last Review, respecting the first Quakers, and, by adding the epithet *curious* to it, you have, in some degree, given it your sanction. The account is said to be drawn from some (I suppose before unpublished) memoirs of a Mr. Higginson, formerly vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

“ It seems somewhat extraordinary, that a gentleman of Dr. Burn’s great and deserved reputation in the literary world should have thought it fair to draw from its obscurity a paper, written at a time when the minds of most men were heated with religious prejudice, and when the clergy, more particularly, were irritated against the Quakers, because their tenets, opposing the venal support of the priesthood, sapped the very foundations of its splendour and authority. Nor perhaps did they scruple to add the epithet of hireling to those, who making a trade of religion, brought it into disrepute amongst the people.

“ At the quarter sessions at Appleby in Westmoreland in January 1652, James Naylor, a Quaker, was tried for blasphemy. The trial is still extant, and it appears from thence that — Higginson, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, was a promoter of the prosecution. Naylor was then honourably discharged, nothing of that kind being proved against him, unless it be reckoned blasphemy to oppose Higginson’s assertion, repeated in open court, that *Christ is in heaven*
“ with

C H A P. imprisonment, which had continued about twenty
VI. weeks. Whether Francis Howgill's confinement

1651.

was

" *with a carnal body.* Both the temper of the good vicar,
" and the complexion of his divinity, may perhaps be inferred
" from this anecdote.

" The evidence of Higginson carries with it all the marks
" of that wanton exaggeration which characterises personal
" animosity. The charge is supported by no proof. Gerard
" Croese, indeed, in his History of the Quakers, mentions
" a petition from the ministers, and sundry other persons of
" Lancashire, against George Fox, James Naylor, and their
" associates, in which they are accused of foaming at the
" mouth in their conventicles, and of other strange agitations;
" and George Fox, in particular, of having said that he was
" equal to God, the only Judge of the World, Christ, the
" Way, the Truth, and the Life. One James Melver (per-
" haps Milner) was also charged with saying that he was God
" and Christ, and with prophesying that the day of judg-
" ment was at hand, that there should be no more justices in
" Lancashire, and that the parliament should be plucked up
" by the roots. Higginson's narrative and this petition bear
" striking marks of affinity with each other, and probably
" sprung from the same source. Croese, however, who was
" no Quaker, nor is his history partial to the Quakers, ac-
" knowledges, ' that these charges were so completely re-
" futed, that it was apparent they who invented them were
" wicked men, and they who believed in them were fools.'
" He excepts the mad presumption of Melver (or Milner),
" whom he says the Quakers rebuked. The truth is, that
" as the Quakers, for the reason above-mentioned, were es-
" pecially singled out as the objects of priestly indignation,
" every rumour to their disadvantage was eagerly adopted,
" and frequently spread with circumstances of aggravation.
" Thus a Vicar of Wakefield, whose name was Marshal,
" reported of George Fox, *that he rode upon a great black*
" *horse, and was seen within an hour at two places sixty miles*
" *distant from each other.* If the papers of this Vicar were
" narrowly searched into, it might, possibly, be found record-
" ed as his opinion, that the first Quakers were witches. It
" must, notwithstanding, be acknowledged, that it was not
" unusual for some of the most zealous to go sometimes into
" the public places of worship, and after the preacher had
" finished

was of a longer or shorter continuance than this, we have no account. C H A P.
VI.

Thomas Aldam, one of those early preachers, was also imprisoned this year in York, at the instigation of the priest of Warnsworth, for uttering some expressions after the priest had ended his sermon. At York assizes he was fined 40l. for coming into the court with his hat on: and was a second time imprisoned in York castle for refusing to pay tithes, and detained in prison two years and six months. He had also, for 11l. 10s. demanded for tithes, taken from him goods worth 58l. 10s.

1652.
Thomas Aldam imprisoned.

In the course of the same year several others, whose religious concern induced them to exhort the priests and their congregations at the close of their public assemblies for worship, met with the like severe treatment; but to describe particularly the sufferings they underwent for their Christian testimonies, would carry me far beyond my proposed limits. Their suffering in the different counties of England and elsewhere, have been digested by Joseph Besse, and make two volumes in folio.

“ finished his discourse, to reprove both priest and people for practices which they considered as superstitious or anti-christian.

“ Amidst the swarm of sects which distinguish the last century, there was one, of which little is now known, but that the practices of its adherents outraged all decency and order. They were called Ranters. The enemies of the Quakers found it frequently suitable to their purpose to confound them with this ephemeron sect, whose principles were nevertheless totally incompatible with those of the Quakers. There is a paper still extant, written by Edward Burroughs, an active preacher amongst the Quakers, against the licentious practices of these people.”

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

B O O K II.

From the End of the Commonwealth to the
Restoration of monarchical Government.

C H A P. I.

*Oliver Cromwell dissolves the Parliament—The
Change of Government brings no Advantage to
the Quakers.—George Fox goes into Cumberland.
—At Carlisle he preaches at the Market-cross,
and in the Steeple-house.—Summoned before the
Magistrates and imprisoned.—Rumour of his be-
ing to be hanged.—The Judge and Magistrates
in Consultation about bringing him in guilty of
Death; being puzzled therein, resolve not to
bring him to Trial.—A fair Trial demanded
without Effect.—George Fox confined among Fe-
lons and cruelly treated.—James Parnell con-
vinced.—The Parliament enquire into George
Fox's Case.—George Fox released.— M. Halhead
greatly abused.*

WE are now entering upon the year 1653, in
the forepart whereof another revolution in go-
vernment took place. The parliament conceiving
I 2 a jealousy

C H A P.
I.
1653.

C H A P.

I.

1653.

Oliver
Cromwell
dissolves the
parliament.

a jealousy of Oliver Cromwell's ambition, power and influence in the army; and having upon trivial grounds commenced and prosecuted a naval war against the Dutch with signal success, very plausibly insisted on the intolerable additional expence to which the nation was put, to maintain a land army (now no longer necessary) and urged the necessity of a reduction thereof. Cromwell wanted not penetration to see the tendency of these designs to lay him aside, and therefore resolved to anticipate them. Bringing the officers and body of the army, now the real masters of the nation, into his views, he without hesitation forcibly dissolved the remnant of the long parliament, and, in conjunction with the principal officers, took the reins of government into his own hands.

The change
of govern-
ment brings
no advan-
tage to the
Quakers.

This change of government doth not appear to have produced any revolution in favour of the Quakers, so called; for although the supreme power was seized into new hands, the subordinate magistrates were continued in office by the new council of state, nor do I find any material change among the ecclesiastics, so that their former persecutors retained power to be still troublesome to them: and their sufferings continued to encrease with the increase of their numbers.

George Fox
goes into
Cumber-
land.

George Fox, still indefatigable in his labours, in spite of all opposition and the discouragement of his sufferings, passed about this time into Cumberland, and from place to place his ministry was so well received, that many new converts were gained to his doctrines in most places which he visited. Coming to Carlisle, he first preached to the soldiers in garrison there, directing them as usual to Christ as their teacher, and to the measure of his spirit in themselves, warning them

to

to do violence to no man, but shew forth a Christian life.

On the market-day, he went up to the Market-cross, and cautioned the people against fraud and over-reaching in their dealings, and to speak the truth one to another. On the first day following he went to the Steeple-house, and after the priest had done he preached to the people with a reaching power. The rude people of the town rose and assaulted him in the Steeple-house; but the governor sent down some musqueteers to appease the tumult, who, taking George by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out and rescued him from further insult. A lieutenant who had been convinced took him to his house, and there they had a quiet and satisfactory meeting. The next day he was summoned before the magistrates, who falling into discourse with him upon religion, in the course of their conversation, perceiving their emptiness as to the essence thereof, he endeavoured with his accustomed sincerity to shew them, that although they were high in profession (being Presbyterians and Independents) yet they were without the possession of what they professed. This plain dealing exasperating them, who, it's too probable, affected the name of religious men, and the appearance of purity more than the substance of pure religion; they committed him to prison under the hard names of *a blasphemer, an heretic and a seducer*, where he lay 'till the affizes. And in the interim the general discourse was, and from the disposition that prevailed against him at this time and in this place, it's to be feared, the general wish was *that he was to be hanged*. The high sheriff, whose name was Wilfry Lawson, indulged his rancour so far as, to say, *he would guard him*.

CHAP.
I.

1653.
At Carlisle
preaches at
the Market-cross,
and at the
Steeple-house.

Summoned
before the
magistrates,

and committed to
prison.

Rumour of
his being
to be hanged.

CHAP. *to execution himself.* And the notion was so universal that curiosity drew several ladies (so called) to see him, as a man that was to die. When the assizes came the judge and magistrates held a consultation how to proceed against him in order to bring him in guilty of death; but the judge's clerk starting a question that puzzled them and confounded their counsels, and finding that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good against him, and that of consequence if brought to a trial he must be acquitted, they concluded not to bring him to a trial at all.

I.
1653.
The judge and magistrates in consultation to bring him in guilty of death, confounded, resolve not to bring him to trial.

Anthony Pearson, a justice of peace in Westmoreland, lately convinced, being then in Carlisle, and understanding the result of their consultation, wrote to the judges, shewing the illegality of this resolution, and demanding a fair trial for George Fox; but they paid no regard to this reasonable demand of the subject's right, but left him to the magistrates of the town, encouraging them to treat him with rigour. He had hitherto been confined in the jailer's house so closely, that all his friends were denied access to him; but the day after an order was sent to the jailer to put him among the felons and murderers, in a prison noisome and filthy to the last degree, where, contrary to all decency, men and women were kept together, without any other convenience to ease nature than the room they were in; amongst a crew so unclean that one woman was almost eaten up with lice. Yet these prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some of them became converted by his doctrine. But far different was the conduct of the jailers, being very cruel and abusive, particularly that of the deputy, who in brutal rage would

George Fox confined among felons and cruelly treated.

would often fall upon his friends who came to see him, and himself also, with a great cudgel.

Whilst he was confined in the dungeon here, among others who came to visit and discourse with him was one James Parnel, a youth of about sixteen years of age, who was by his conference so effectually reached that he was convinced, received the truth in the love of it, and soon became a powerful minister himself, and the means of convincing many others, proving himself by his pen and his tongue, in the zealous promotion of solid religion, a workman that need not to be ashamed; although for these zealous endeavours he underwent grievous persecution, as will hereafter appear.

The report that had been raised previous to the assizes, *that George Fox should be put to death*, had by this time spread abroad; and it came to the ears of the * parliament then sitting,

CHAP
I.

1653.
James Parnel
not convinced by
Geo. Fox.

The parliament enquire into the circumstance of Geo. Fox's offence.

* This was the parliament that is distinguished by the denomination of *barebones*, and by some by that of the short parliament, being a number of one hundred and twenty summoned by Oliver Cromwell, in order to amuse the people with some resemblance of a common-wealth, to take upon them the executive part of government. Many of them being selected from the middle rank of the people have given occasion to sundry historians to characterize them in terms remarkably contemptuous, as men of the lowest birth and meanest intellects, chosen by Cromwell, particularly for their want of knowledge and experience in affairs, in prospect that the reins of government might revert into his own hands: But others speak of them with more respect, as a convention in which were several persons of worth, fortune and abilities; and as the principal objection to their conduct seems to be a project they were designing to put in execution, which the people had been flattered with the hopes of before but disappointed, viz. the abridging of the delay and expense of law-suits, and abolishing tithes. I am ready to join

Smollet.

M'Aulay.

CHAP. ting, that a young man at Carlisle was to die for
 I. religion, whereupon they ordered a letter of en-
 1653. quiry to the sheriffs and magistrates concerning him.

The justices Benson and Pearson having more than once demanded liberty of the magistrates to visit George Fox in prison, and being refused, wrote to them, emphatically describing the turpitude of persecution in general, and their own exorbitant severity in particular, as exceeding in inhumanity that of the heathens, who having the apostle Paul in custody, refused him not the consolation of the visits of his friends and acquaintance. At length, however,

Anth. Pear-
 son in com-
 pany with
 the Gover-
 nor visits
 George Fox
 in prison.

Anthony Pearson got an opportunity, in company with the governor, to visit him in his dungeon, and found his situation so disagreeable, and the place of his confinement of a smell so exceedingly offensive, that the governor exclaimed at the barbarity of the magistrates, and calling the jailers required securities for their good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had treated George Fox with great cruelty, he imprisoned in the dungeon with him. In the mean time these persecuting magistrates, probably afraid of the parliament's further cognizance of their proceedings, and ashamed at the governor's remonstrance, soon after thought it expedient to release him, as the surest measure to bury their unjustifiable conduct in oblivion.

George Fox
 released.

Miles Hal-
 head great-
 ly abused.

This year Miles Halhead, of Underbarrow in Westmoreland, one of the first zealous preachers,

join in with the latter opinion, that there were amongst them men of worth and integrity, disposed to apply the power they were invested with to the public good, which I think would have been essentially promoted by the execution of such a scheme as this.

ers, feeling a concern to travel into Yorkshire in the work of the ministry, in obedience to what he believed his duty, proceeded on his journey, in which, for publishing those doctrines which he held as truth, he met with much grievous abuse. At Skipton and at Doncaster he was so sorely beaten and bruised by the rude multitude that they left him to appearance dead; but being supported by an invisible hand he recovered, even to the astonishment of those who abused him, and to the conviction of many who had heard his doctrine, and observed his patience in suffering night unto death, and the unchristian and unprovoked malice of his assailants and their abettors. Thomas Briggs in Lancaster, Robert Widders and William Dewsbury in Cumberland, were also severally abused in like manner.

But still through all opposition, patient and undismayed, through divine assistance and support, George Fox and his fellow-labourers persevered in their ministry with unremitted zeal and remarkable success, the number of their adherents encreasing in proportion to the cruel efforts exerted by magistrates, priests and mobs, to prevent their encrease. Even these measures, employed to stop their progress, proved, in the over-ruling hand of divine providence, the means of advancing it. The innocence and integrity of their lives, the fortitude and christian temper with which they suffered persecution, buffeting and grievous abuse, pleaded powerfully in their behalf, and procured them the compassion and esteem of many. Others who heard them every where spoken against, and particularly from the pulpits, which should have been better employed, on a nearer acquaintance with them,

The sufferings of this people tend to the encreasing of their number.

CHAP. I. them, found them and their principles so grossly misrepresented as induced them to forsake such teachers, who under the profession of purity in religion fell so far short of moral rectitude, and to associate with this people, whom they found honest in heart, upright in conduct, and truly sincere in their profession of godliness.

1653.

CHAP. II.

Oliver Cromwell declared Protector.—Which is of no Advantage to the People called Quakers.—Pretext for Persecution.—Remark upon the Benevolence and mutual Affection of the Quakers, so called.—Their Prosperity in Commerce by Means of fair Dealing.

CHAP. II. THE short parliament, commonly called Barebone's, having resigned their power back into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, from whom they received it, the council of officers, by the advice of Lambert, adopted a new scheme of government, tempering the liberty of a republic with the authority of a single person, under the denomination of protector. Cromwell was accordingly declared protector, and a model of a new legislature was drawn up, which they termed the instrument of government, and which he was sworn to observe in his administration thereof; in which, as there were several articles in favour of liberty of conscience, some

Oliver
Cromwell
declared
protector,

1654.

some relaxation of the vindictive measures hitherto pursued against the Quakers was natural for this people to expect.

But notwithstanding these plausible appearances of liberality of sentiment in favour of religious liberty, this people reaped no advantage therefrom, but continued to be exposed to all the hardships they had before experienced, not only from ordinances being turned against them, but their meetings for worship, though seemingly allowed, were in fact prohibited, since they were punished as sabbath-breakers, for travelling to them no further than their distant dwellings made necessary.

But the authority of government, and power of executing the laws, being in the hands of those whose principles had formerly subjected themselves to the severity of the bishops; and who had, when under suffering, loudly exclaimed against the tyranny and iniquity of persecution, for a conscientious dissent from established forms of worship or modes of faith, and had taken up arms to deliver themselves therefrom, having now gotten the upper-hand, they could not, with any degree of consistency or modesty, openly reverse their former professions, and maintain persecution lawful in them, which they had so violently opposed in others; they continued to condemn it speculatively, but to keep it up practically in use; for this purpose they endeavoured to comprehend actions merely religious under a description within the reach of the laws. A christian exhortation to an assembly after the priest had done, and their worship was over, was denominated, *interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office*: An honest testimony against sin in the streets

C H A P. II.

1654.

which is of no advantage to the people called Quakers.

Pretexts for persecution.

C H A P. streets or markets was styled *a breach of the peace*; and their appearing before the magistrates conveyed *a contempt of authority*: Hence proceeded *finés, imprisonments and spoiling of goods*. Nay, so hot for persecution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled misconstruction of the laws against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of *Quakers*.

Remark upon the benevolence and mutual affection of the people called Quakers.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt and abuse from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and connected them in cordial affection amongst themselves; so that the priests and professors, who had vainly prophesied their downfall by other means, observing their mutual charity and hospitality, began now to say, *they would eat one another out*: Because many of them after meetings, having a great way to go, took a night's lodging at some of their friends houses, sometimes in large numbers: Others who walked not by faith as they did, actuated by political considerations, expressed their fears, that by their expenses in entertaining one another, they would be reduced to beggary, and fall a charge upon the parishes. But many of these lived to see the vanity of their fears and forebodings; for it pleased divine providence remarkably to bless them and prosper their undertakings. At the first, indeed, people were shy of dealing with them, by reason of their plain, and, as it was generally esteemed, uncouth demeanour and address; and by reason of the general aversion produced by malignity and misrepresentation, so that many of this people were reduced to difficulty in procuring a living by their callings for a season; but afterwards, when

when they became better known for what they were, and not for what they were falsely reported to be; manifesting the excellency of that internal religion they professed by the regularity of their moral conduct*, and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce, void of all fraud, deceit and circumvention; careful in manufacturing or choosing such goods as might be substantial, and answer the expectations of the purchasers, moderate in their profits, sparing in their commendations, and punctual in their payments†, not asking more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept, taking no advantage of ignorance, the unskilful customer being sure to be treated with as much justice as the most judicious; their tried integrity begat general confidence, and that confidence brought them a great resort of customers, so that they prospered greatly in their outward affairs, and verified the proverb, that *honesty is the best policy*.

CHAP.
II.

1654

Their prosperity in commerce by means of fair dealing.

* It is a remarkable instance of the charity and mutual benevolence that prevails amongst this people, that they have never suffered their poor to fall an incumbrance on their parishes; but they have ever afforded them a comfortable support amongst themselves: and at the same time evidence the universality of their benevolence, by a readiness with the foremost to contribute to the support of the common poor, both in their quota of the poor tax, and in extending private charity to deserving objects within their notice.

† Hume, notwithstanding the contemptible and ridiculous light in which he has endeavoured to place this people, owns this (and this only) to be a laudable maxim. If he had viewed them with dispassionate and discerning eyes, I think he might have discovered many other maxims of this people deserving approbation as well as this.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Sundry Friends travel abroad in the Work of the Ministry.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, the first of this People who visited the City of London.—Francis Howgill intercedes with Oliver Cromwell to stop Persecution.—Meetings settled in London.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough travel to Bristol, and there meet with John Camm and John Audland.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough examined by the Council and ordered to depart out of the City.—The Mob instigated to abuse these Friends, which they do in a very gross Manner.—Sufferings of Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher at Oxford.—Convincement and Sufferings of Barbara Blaugdon.—She is imprisoned at Marlborough, committed to Exeter Jail and cruelly whipped.—At Basing-Stoke procures the Liberty of Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigg.

C H A P. III.

1654.
Sundry
friends tra-
vel abroad
in the work
of the mi-
nisty.

MEETINGS being settled in many parts of the northern counties, and with the number of professors the number of ministers proportionably encreasing, several of these conceived it their duty to go forth into other parts of the nation to propagate the gospel, and to turn people to righteousness. Of these Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough travelled to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead to Norwich, and others to other parts. George Fox from experience, impressed with a lively sense of the

the importance of the work in which they were engaging, solicitous for the advancement of the truth, and that no part of the conduct of those who were concerned to promote it might in the least degree fully the brightness thereof, wrote an epistle, admonishing them to prudence; to abide under the cross of Christ; to receive wisdom from God by the light; and not to be hasty to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience. * Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough arrived in London in company with Anthony Pearson, being the first of the people called Quakers that had a meeting in London, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson at the house of Robert Dring in Watling-street, and Edward Burrough the same day in the assembly of a separate society: Their ministerial labours were blessed with signal success, being attended with a convincing power, impressing awful considerations, and awakening the consciences of the audience to a sense of their conditions and earnest desires after salvation. They were eminently qualified for the service in which they were engaged, not only with sound understanding and a sufficient share of literature, but the superior qualification of the experience of the quickening power of that inward religion; which they endeavoured to recommend and propagate; a religion not amusing the head in curious speculations, but purifying the heart and cleansing the conscience from dead works to serve the Lord in newness of life; prepared for the work of the ministry by the previous work of inward sanctification, and believing themselves to that arduous undertaking called of God as was Aaron.

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1654.

Francis
Howgill
and Edward
Burrough
the first of
this people
who visited
the city of
London.

Having

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Francis
Howgill in-
tercedes
with Oliver
Cromwell
to stop per-
secution.

^b Having a feeling sympathy with his brethren under persecution, with whom he had been a fellow-sufferer, Francis Howgill went to court to intercede with Oliver Cromwell to put a stop thereto; but his visit seems to have had a more beneficial effect upon Oliver's servants than upon himself; for some of these, and particularly Theophilus Green and Mary Sanders were so far affected by his discourse, that after some time they joined themselves to the people called Quakers.

^c Francis Howgill afterwards wrote to Oliver very boldly and plainly on the same subject; but the sequel doth not manifest any good effects resulting therefrom; his friends continued still subject to a variety of hardships for their conscientious adherence to their religious principles, during the remainder of his protectorate, and through the succeeding revolutions.

Through the zealous and effectual preaching of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, many of the citizens of London were brought over to their profession, so that ^d meetings were settled in sundry places in that city, first in the house of Sarah Sawyer in Aldersgate-street, then in that of ——— Bates in Tower-street, and another at Gerard Roberts's in Thomas Apostles, 'till the body growing too large for private houses to accommodate, a house known by the name of *Bull and Mouth in Martins-le-grand*, near Aldersgate, was hired for a meeting-house.

^e Now the press as well as the pulpits was set to work for the purpose of defamation: Abundance of books and publications by the priests and

Meetings
settled in
London.

^b Sewel, p. 83.

^c Ibid, p. 82.

^d Ibid, p. 84.

^e Ibid.

and teachers of several sects were spread abroad, representing the Quakers as seducers and false prophets. For being chagrined at the loss of their hearers, many of whom had gone over to this rising society, they were roused to employ every engine to stop its progress: But the event did not answer their hope, for Burrough and Howgill did not suffer these writings to pass unnoticed; but clearly manifested the malice and the absurdities of the writers.

It doth not appear that they met with any molestation in their persons in the metropolis; but after they had gathered and settled meetings there, they travelled thence to Bristol, where John Camm and John Audland had arrived before, and where their ministry had been effectual to gather a number to their community, and particularly Josiah Coale, George Bishop, Charles Marshal and Barbara Blaugden. Their preaching was like that of the apostles, in the demonstration of the spirit, and with power; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. Their public assemblies, for want of room in their usual meeting-houses, were held in the fields, even in winter, increasing in number to two, three, and sometimes near four thousand of all degrees, professions, ages and sexes. This alarmed the priests, and they the magistrates, who on the 30th October held a council, the mayor presiding, and sent for Burrough and Howgill. The issue of their examination; at which none of their friends were suffered to be present, though their opposers were readily admitted, was an order for their departing the city forthwith at their peril.

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1654

Francis
Howgill
and Edward
Burrough
travel to
Bristol, and
there meet
with John
Camm and
John Aud-
land, by
whose mi-
nisty sever-
al are con-
vinced.

F. Howgill
and E. Bur-
rough ex-
amined be-
fore the
council,

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K

To

CHAP. To this they answered : *We came not in the will of*
 III.

1654.

by whom
they are or-
dered to de-
part the ci-
ty.

The mob
instigated to
abuse the
friends,

which they
do in a very
gross man-
ner.

man, nor stand in the will of man, but when he shall move us to depart who moved us to come hither we shall obey : We are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law : To your commands we cannot be obedient ; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist. Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city preaching as before ; for though the magistrates bare them no good will, yet they could not either by law or justice execute the order they had made. The opposers of the truth, enraged at this disappointment, excited the mob to do what the magistrates could not. On the 19th of December John Camm and John Audland, passing over the bridge toward Brisslington, where they had appointed a meeting, were assaulted by some hundreds of the rabble, whose ignorant zeal had been blown up to the highest pitch of fury by one Farmer, a persecuting priest, and some others. They violently drove back the innocent strangers, some crying out, *hang them presently*, others, *knock them down* ; and would have dragged them out of the city, in order to execute their wicked purpose, but were dissuaded by some who advised first to carry them before the mayor. Then they dragged them to the Tolzey, where the courts of justice are held. There again the enraged mob would probably have torn them to pieces, had not a friend with much danger and difficulty got them into his house and shut the doors. The rabble with hideous noise threatened to pull down the house, while the innocent men remained *as lambs dumb before their shearers*, in quietness and patience, yet undaunted, putting their

their trust in God. After some time the officers of the garrison approaching, the mob, fearing military execution, dispersed. Next morning the two strangers passed over the bridge to their meeting at Brislington. Three of the rioters were apprehended, on the report of which they gathered again to the number of fifteen hundred, and forced the discharge of their companions. Towards evening it was rumoured that the Quakers were returning, whereupon multitudes drew together on the bridge, and on the other side of the river Avon, uttering terrible menaces, so that the magistrates, fearing bloodshed, sent their sword-bearer to prevent the men from returning that way, for that *they could not undertake to secure them*. Thus Providence preserved the innocent from the enraged rabble, whose fury spread a terror over the whole city. These disorders were too much countenanced by men in office. It was credibly reported that George Helliar, an Alderman, said at the Tolzey, to some of the rioters, *that he would spend his blood, and lose his life, rather than that any of his fellow apprentices should go to prison*: Such familiarity increased their insolence. Nevertheless the magistrates soon after, in representing these tumults to the Protector, charged the innocent men, against whom they were raised as, the authors of them.

Amidst so many instances of arbitrary rule and lawless riot, I am pleased to meet with one of a more humane and Christian disposition in the mayor of Oxford of this year. Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, two North-country women, came under a religious concern to the said city, to exhort the inhabitants and students

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III.

1654.

Sufferings
of Elizabeth
Heavens
and Eliza-
beth Fletch-
er.

CHAP. to repentance and amendment of life. Their
 III. labours of love met with inhuman returns from
 1654. the scholars, who drove these innocent women
 by force to the pump in John's College, where
 they pumped water on their necks and into their
 mouths till they were almost suffocated; after
 which they tied them arm to arm, and with
 great barbarity dragged them up and down the
 college and through a pool of water: They threw
 Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, over a
 grave, whereby she received a contusion on her
 side, from which she never recovered, but soon
 after died. A few days after this rude and un-
 christian treatment, the same women went to
 one of their places of public worship, and after
 the priest had done, one of them began to ex-
 hort the people to the practice of godliness:
 Two justices of peace, who were present, ordered
 them immediately to be sent to Bocardo, a pri-
 son usually appropriated to the reception of fel-
 ons and murderers. Next day those justices
 sent a message to the mayor, to meet them and
 others to examine these Quakers, who expressed
 his disapprobation of their proceedings, *Let them,*
 said he, *who committed them, deal with them ac-*
cording to law, for my part I have nothing against
them: If they wanted food, money or clothes, I
would willingly supply them. However, when the
 justices met he met with them, and the * Vice-
 chancellor of the university being sent for, rea-
 dily came, and was the principal in examining
 them. After a short examination, the women
 were ordered to withdraw while the magistrates
 consulted together, and although nothing ap-
 peared to criminate them, these magistrates drew
 up

The mayor
 refuses his
 consent to
 the pro-
 ceedings of
 the other
 magistrates.

up their sentence against them in writing, That C H A P.
III.
1654. they should be whipped out of the city. Now, according to the legal constitution of the city, it was requisite for the mayor to sign a sentence of corporal punishment, and affix his seal of office to make it valid, which in this case he refused to do, because he could not in conscience consent to a sentence, which he thought unmerited and unjust. But as a scrupulous adherence to legal forms was too often made to give way to the gratification of a vindictive temper in magistrates, actuated more by causeless hatred to this people, than regard to justice or humanity, the Vice-chancellor and his coadjutors resolved, since the mayor would not legalize the sentence by the sanction of his signature, they would have it executed without him, and accordingly gave orders that the poor women should be severely whipped the next morning, and had their order effectually executed; though the conviction of their innocence affected the heart even of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifest reluctance. The women bearing their grievous sufferings with Christian patience, without murmuring or complaining in the least, their meek and patient behaviour impressed many of the sober inhabitants with compassionate sympathy towards them, and induced them to acknowledge them as the servants of God, supported by his divine power to bear their testimony with innocence, and their sufferings with the patience of saints. With sensations of tender regard to them, and of disgust and aversion to the severity of their persecutors, they in much love and tenderness accompanied them out of the city.

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III.

1654.
Convince-
ment and
sufferings of
Barbara
Blaugdon.

She is im-
prisoned at
Marlbo-
rough.

In this year Barbara Blaugdon of Bristol met with usage equally severe. She was a woman of good parts and education, religiously inclined from her youth, of good repute, and esteemed in her profession or employment, which was the instruction of children. But being amongst the number of those who had been converted to Quakerism (so called) by the efficacious ministry of John Camm and John Audland; and believing it her duty to take up the cross, she conscientiously adopted not only the simplicity of manners peculiar to this society in dress and address (whereby she lost her employment) but was so abstemious as to deny herself the use of flesh, wine or beer, drinking only water for the space of a year. In the mean time she grew in piety and religious experience, This woman was repeatedly concerned to intercede on behalf of her persecuted friends, and not without success, and was remarkably exposed to a variety of afflictions and persecutions herself. At Marlborough, for exhorting the people to fear God, in the steeple-house and other places, she was imprisoned for the space of six weeks; and after her release, visiting Isaac Burgefs, the magistrate who committed her, by her discourse his understanding was so opened, that he assented to the truth; and although he had not resolution to take up the cross, so far as to make public profession thereof, yet he was ever afterwards a man of moderation, averse to persecution, and a friendly protector of the members of this community. Soon after passing into Devonshire, at Great Torrington, for expressing a few words of exhortation to the people in the steeple-house, she was summoned before the mayor, who upon her appearing before him conducted himself with moderation,

moderation, and seemed reluctant to send her to prison. But the priest being present, discovered a very different temper, and was very urgent with him to do it, expressing the bitterness of his spirit, in saying, *She ought to be whipped for a vagabond.* Upon which she desired him *to prove wherever she asked any one for a bit of bread.* At length the priest's urgency prevailed over the magistrate's moderation, by whom she was sent to Exeter prison twenty miles distant, where she was detained till the assizes, but brought to no trial; and after the assizes she was lodged one night among a great number of gipsies who were there in prison. Next day the sheriff coming with the beadle, brought her into a room, where she was very cruelly whipped till the blood ran down her back; and such was her magnanimity, supported by an invisible power, that she never started at a blow, but sang aloud, rejoicing that she was counted worthy to suffer in a noble cause, the testimony of a good conscience. The unfeeling beadle, provoked at her constancy, laid on his stripes with redoubled fury, till the sheriff seeing that the utmost exertion of their malice made no impression upon her (for she was strengthened by an extraordinary and more than human power, so that she declared afterwards that in the state in which she was at that time, if she had been whipped to death she should not be terrified or dismayed) ordered the fellow to desist. The next day she was turned out of the city along with the gipsies, the beadle following them two miles out of town. Upon his leaving them, she returned to visit her friends she had left behind in prison, which having done she went home to Bristol.

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1654.

Committed
to Exeter
jail,and cruelly
whipped.

She

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1654.
At Basing-
stoke pro-
cures liber-
ty for Tho-
mas Ro-
bertson and
Ambrose
Rigge.

She had not been long at home before she felt an impulse on her mind to go abroad on the following occasion: Two of her friends*, Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge, being at a meeting at Basingstoke in Hampshire (the first their friends had there) were taken up and committed to prison, where they had lain for some time; and Barbara apprehending it her Christian duty to visit them in prison, and use her endeavours to obtain their release, went to Basingstoke; and upon her arrival there, going to the prison, was refused admittance. She then went to the mayor, and requested their liberty; which he promised her to grant, provided he might see the letter she had brought them, (viz. a letter from J. Camm) which she readily producing, after he had read it, he told her she should have her friends out, but that he could not let them out presently: Yet it was not long till they were set at liberty.

* These men coming to Basingstoke were informed that the priest of that parish had uttered several invective speeches against them: They, in order to clear themselves, desired an interview with him, which he refused; but said *they might expect to be shortly in prison*: And holding a meeting in a friend's yard, to which many of the town resorted, during the meeting this priest with a justice of peace came thither in a rude and angry manner; and in order to get occasion against them the justice tendered them the oath of abjuration, which refusing, from a conscientious scruple against swearing, they were committed to prison, kept and examined apart; their money, bibles, ink-horns, knives and papers taken from them, (but the money returned) and none of their friends suffered to come near them.

C H A P. IV.

George Fox in Lincolnshire convinceth the Sheriff.—Also Sir Richard Wrey and others.—A general Meeting at Swanington.—At Drayton disputes with Priest Stephens and other Priests.—Is taken up at Whetstone and brought before Col. Hacker.—Who sends him to the Protector at London.—By whom he is discharged.—Has great Meetings in London.—A Meeting at John Crook's, who is convinced.

GEORGE FOX, after his release from Carlisle jail, travelled through sundry parts of the north of England, and through Yorkshire into Lincolnshire: and the Sheriff of Lincoln coming to a meeting which he was at made great contention for a time, but at length was so reached by the power attending George's testimony that he was convinced, as were several others also who came to oppose.

During his stay in this country the church of his friends encreased, and many received his doctrine; amongst others Sir Richard Wrey, his brother, and his brother's wife, who both retained their integrity. But Sir Richard finding the way too narrow left their community after some time: for persecution gathering strength became as a touchstone to try the sincerity of the professors, being a trial of faith too severe for the hypocritical or superficial professors to endure.

Travelling through Derbyshire into Leicester-shire he came to Swanington, to a general meeting, where he met John Audland, Francis How-

gill

C H A P. IV.

1654.
George Fox in Lincolnshire convinceth the Sheriff.

Also Sir Richard Wrey and others.

A general meeting at Swanington.

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1654.

George Fox
at Drayton
has a dis-
pute with
priest Ste-
phens and
others.

gill and Edward Pyot, from Bristol, and Edward Burrough, from London; and several were convinced in those parts. To this meeting came many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors; and the Ranters were very rude; but that power which attended George and his friends brought them down and confounded them, so that many of them became convinced.

From hence he went to Twycrofs, and thence to Drayton, the place of his nativity, to visit his relations. While he was here Nathaniel Stephens, priest of Drayton, having first got another priest to dispute, and after that seven others to join him, had given public notice, unknown to George, that on such a day there would be a meeting and dispute with him. Upon this occasion several hundreds of people were gathered to witness the triumph of the priests. This formidable combination was formed with a view to get an advantage by their numbers over George and his friends, in order to bring them and their principles into disgrace with the people; but the event did not answer their hopes; for in the course of their conference George drawing a striking parallel between their practices and those of the false prophets and pharisees, who were the subjects of rebuke in both the Old and New Testament, the priests in disappointment quitted the field, and many of the people were convinced that day: and George's father, who was still in communion with Stephens, as one of his parishioners, was so well satisfied, that, striking his cane upon the ground, he said, *Truly I see he that will stand to the truth, it will carry him through.*

The priests failing of their purpose to vanquish George Fox by their disputing and argumentation,

tion, had recourse to the secular power to gratify their envious designs against him, and to bring him into trouble, or to put a stop to his travelling abroad. He went from Drayton to Leicester, and from thence to Whetstone, where a meeting was to be held; but before it began, about seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment took him up, and brought him before the Colonel and his company of officers, by the procurement of the priests as he thought. And after much discourse and reasoning with them, the Colonel gave him liberty to go home, provided *he would stay there and not go abroad to meetings.* But George being unwilling to agree to the conditions, his son Nedham said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off." So malicious a speech drew from George this pertinent query. "For what? what have I done? or whom have I wronged from a child? In this country I had my birth and education, and who can accuse me of any evil from my infancy to this day?"—Then the Colonel asked him, if he would go home and stay at home? George looking upon this requisition as unreasonable, having administered no cause for such restriction of his liberty, replied, *If he should agree thereto it would imply that he was guilty of something, for which his home was made his prison: And if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he should go to meeting, and could not answer their requirings.* "Well then," said Hacker, "I will send you to-morrow morning by six o'clock to my Lord Protector, by Captain Drury, one of his

CHAP.
IV.

1654.

Goes from Drayton to Leicester, and to Whetstone, where he is taken and brought before Colonel Hacker.

"life-

CHAP.
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1654.
who sends
him to the
Protector
at London.

“life guard.” That night he was kept in the marshallsea, and next morning about the hour appointed delivered to Captain Drury. But before they set off, requesting to speak with Colonel Hacker, he was taken to his bed-side, when the Colonel repeated his order to him to go home and stay there: And George being still unwilling to comply, the Colonel insisted on his going to the protector. Whereupon George kneeled down at his bed-side, and prayed the Lord to *forgive him*: looking upon him to be like Pilate, willing to wash his hands while he complied with the instigations of the persecuting priests; and therefore desired him, *When the day of his misery and trial came upon him, then to remember what he had said to him.*

So parting from him, he was carried prisoner by Captain Drury to London, where being lodged at the Mermaid, Charing-Cross, Drury went to inform the Protector, who sent him back with this message, *That the Protector required of George Fox, that he should promise not to take up the sword, or any other weapon, against him or the government, as it then was; that he should write it in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it.* George, on consideration thereof, wrote to the Protector the next morning by the name of Oliver Cromwell, declaring in the presence of the Lord, “That he did deny
“the wearing or drawing of a sword, or any
“outward weapon, against him or any man.
“That he was sent of God to stand a witness
“against all violence, and against the works of
“darkness; and to bring people from the oc-
“casion of wars and fightings to the peaceable
“gospel;

"gospel; and from being evil doers, to whom
 "the magistrates sword should be a terror;"
 to which he subscribed his name, and gave it to
 Captain Drury to deliver to Cromwell. Some
 time after Drury returned, and brought George
 Fox before the Protector at Whitehall. Upon
 his coming in he said, *Peace be in this house,*
 and exhorted the Protector *to keep in the fear of*
God, that he might receive wisdom from him; that
by it he might be ordered, and with it might order
all things under his hand to God's glory. They
 had much discourse about religion, in which the
 Protector carried himself with much moderation:
 But remarking that *George Fox and his friends*
quarrelled with the ministers, George told him
 he did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled
 with him; but, added he, if we own the pro-
 phets, Christ and the apostles, we cannot up-
 hold such teachers as they testified against, that
 is, such as violate Christ's command, in not giving
 freely; such as take the oversight of the flock
 for filthy lucre, and divine for money. When
 George made a motion to retire, upon other
 people coming in, Cromwell took him by the
 hand, and with tears in his eyes said, *Come again*
to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of
a day together we should be nearer one to another,
 adding, *that he wished him no more ill than he did*
his own soul. Then George bade him *hearken to*
the voice of God, stand in his counsel and obey it,
if he did so it would preserve him from hardness of
heart; but if not his heart would be hardened.
 The Protector seemed affected, and said, *It was*
true. George then taking his leave retired, and
 Captain Drury following him out, informed him
 that *the Lord Protector said he was at liberty,*
and might go whither he would.

CHAP.
IV.

1654.
With whom
he hath a
conference.

He is dis-
charged.

Being

CHAP.

IV.

1654.
Has great
meetings in
London.

Being restored to liberty he staid during the remaining part of the year in London, where he had meetings so greatly crouded that he could hardly get to or from them, because of the croud. The number of his friends greatly increased, and he could reckon some belonging to Cromwell's court in the number of those convinced.

A meeting
at John
Crook's,
who is con-
vinced.

When he was clear of London he went into Bedfordshire, where he had a great meeting at the house of John Crook, a justice of peace, and many were convinced of the truth he declared, of which number John Crook himself was one, on which account he was soon deprived of his commission; but after some time he became an able minister, and a very serviceable member of this religious community.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

Account of William Caton, Companion to Judge Fell's Son.—Convinced by George Fox.—He receives a Gift in the Ministry.—Account of John Stubbs, a Soldier.—Being convinced he refuses the Oath of Fidelity to Oliver Cromwell, for which he is disbanded.—Meets William Caton at London, and travels with him into Kent.—Being prohibited Entertainment at Dover, Luke Howard entertains them.—Samuel Fisher convinced.—Account of him.—At Maidstone John Stubbs and William Caton sent to the House of Correction, set in the Stocks, and severely whipped.—Turned out of the Town different Ways.—Return to Maidstone, and discharge their service without Molestation.—William Caton goes over to Calais.—William Caton and John Stubbs go to Scotland.

THIS people still encreasing in number, and C H A P.
V.
the number of their ministers encreasing also, 1654
few counties in England remained unvisited by one or other of them. About this time William Caton and John Stubbs went into Kent, where they were made partakers with their brethren in bearing their testimony to the sufficiency of the divine light with success, and charitable endeavours to turn the people thereto, and in suffering in their persons for their testimony: But before I proceed to the particular description of their labours and sufferings, it seems proper, as they have not been noticed before, to make the reader a little acquainted with them.

William

CHAP.

V.

1654.
Account of
William
Caton,
companion
to Judge
Fell's son.

William Caton, about the fourteenth year of his age, by his father's procurement, was introduced into the family of Judge Fell, where his agreeable disposition so ingratiated him with that family, that he was made companion to the Judge's son in his amusements and in his studies; they learned Latin together for some time under a private tutor, and were afterwards removed to a public school at Hawkhead for their further improvement in the languages, in which he made a good proficiency; for which advantages he had reason to be humbly thankful to divine providence for allotting him so favourable a situation; but these were not the only advantages he reaped thereby.

Judge Fell, his wife and daughters, being in general persons of good sense, liberal education, virtuous demeanour, and religious inclinations, his conversation in such improving company, gave him an early turn to piety and virtue; he was very punctual in his private devotions, and diligent, after hearing a lecture, to transcribe the chief heads thereof, in order to improve the favourable sentiments the family entertained of him, it being a point with them at that time to hold in highest estimation those who could repeat the sermons they had heard, and paraphrase thereupon: But whatever praise he might attain thereby from others, he did not feel that inward approbation therein which could satisfy his own soul.

Convinced
by George
Fox.

In the year 1652 (as before recited) George Fox came to Swarthmore and preached in the family, recommending them to give heed to the light which Christ hath enlightened us withal,

to

to convince us of sin and evil: This so affected William Caton that he became subject to this internal convincement, whereby he felt much restriction in his conduct, and could no longer take the liberties he had done before; for although he had not been addicted to vice or profanity, yet by the light he saw that he must be also weaned from vanity and the common diversions of youth, which tend to bring the mind into a state of dissipation, inconsiderateness and unwatchfulness, whereby it is in danger to fall into the enemy's snares, and to be seduced from the paths of virtue and righteousness. The divine witness was awakened in his conscience, and reproved him for every thing that was contrary to Christian gravity, convincing him that it was a serious matter indeed, *to use all diligence to make our calling and election sure.* The change of company he met with at the school at Hawkshhead, on comparison with that he had left at Swarthmore, did not sit easy on his mind before, but under these solid impressions both his companions and exercises there became quite burdensome. The making of latin verses caused him particular uneasiness, as he could not now give that scope to his invention which others did, and as he had used to do. Margaret Fell, perceiving his uneasiness in his present situation, caused him to stay at home where she employed him in writing and teaching her children. Being arrived at his eighteenth year, he was encreased in experience and strengthened in the spiritual warfare: And in a while esteeming it his duty to labour in the ministry of the gospel, he desired to be discharged from his engagements in that family, which was granted in consideration of the service for which it was asked; and so

C H A P.
V.

1654.

He receives
a gift in the
ministry,
and leaves
Judge Fell's
house.

CHAP. about the end of the year 1654 he took his
 V. leave, not without tears on both sides.

1654.
 Account of
 John
 Stubbs,

refuses the
 oath of fi-
 delity to
 Oliver
 Cromwell,

for which
 he is dis-
 banded.

Meets with
 W. Caton
 at London,
 and travels
 with him
 into Kent.

John Stubbs was a foldier in Oliver Crom-
 well's army, and being in garrison at Carlisle
 when George Fox was in prison there, he was
 convinced by him, and became a convert to the
 doctrine he delivered; and proving faithful to
 conviction he grew in experience; he was now
 become a minister amongst this people, and
 proved a man of eminence and ability for ser-
 vice. Having received a liberal education, he
 was well skilled in the Latin, Greek and Orien-
 tal languages. When Oliver Cromwell took the
 reins of government into his own hands, he re-
 quired the foldiers and others to take an oath
 of fidelity to him and his government; but
 several of them being convinced of the truth of
 the doctrine of the Quakers, (so called) when
 the oath was tendered to them, declared, that in
 obedience to Christ's command, they durst not
 swear, whereupon they were disbanded; amongst
 these refusers was John Stubbs, who the lat-
 ter end of this year, or the beginning of the
 succeeding one, travelled to London, where he
 met with William Caton, and in company with
 him travelled into Kent, and coming to Dover,
 altogether strangers, they took up their lodgings
 at an inn. They sought opportunities of pub-
 lishing their doctrines in the sundry congrega-
 tions of professors in that town; but the most
 remarkable opportunity was at a meeting of bap-
 tists, to which abundance of people resorted,
 and many were affected with their doctrine, and
 adhered to it, which occasioned such a stir, that
 they were haled before the magistrates, who
 examined

examined them, though they had transgressed no law, and prohibited the inhabitants from entertaining them under a penalty, whereupon they were turned out of their lodgings, but Luke Howard received them into his house, and heard them gladly. The mayor sent four constables, with an order, to take them from thence, and turn them out of the town; but Luke asserting his right, as a freeman of the corporation, refused to comply with the order, insisting, that the mayor had no legal authority to violate the laws of hospitality in his house, by forcing out his guests, who were no malefactors, nor accused of any crime. They tarried with him some days, and so confirmed him in the belief of their principles, that he publickly declared himself to be of their persuasion, and had meetings afterwards frequently at his house.

CHAP.
V.

1654.
Being prohibited entertainment by the magistrates of Dover, Luke Howard entertains them.

Soon after they came to Lidd, where by their ministry, in conjunction with that of Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge, Samuel Fisher being convinced joined their society; he was a man of good abilities, having received a liberal education in his minority, and afterwards prosecuted his studies at the university—while there he was a young man remarkable for his circumspect and pious conversation. When he had finished his studies there he was ordained a priest, and was first a chaplain to some man of quality, and afterwards presented to the living at Lidd, worth two hundred pounds a year. Before he became acquainted with any of the people called Quakers, being conscientiously engaged in seeking after truth, he discovered that infant baptism was an human institution, and to preach for a stipend contrary to the command of Christ: And Luke Howard, before-

Samuel Fisher convinced.

Account of him.

C. H. A. P. mentioned, also, before he had any acquaintance
 V. with any of those called Quakers, being dissatisfied in his mind with the singing of David's
 1654. psalms in the public worship, gave his master, to whom he was apprentice, so much uneasiness, that he applied to Samuel Fisher, as a learned minister, to take an opportunity of a religious conference with him, in order to remove his scruples, with whose request complying, Luke was very open in declaring the reasons of his scruple, to the following purport: That God was a spirit, and to be worshipped, not in other men's words, but in spirit and in truth. That it was a falsehood for a proud man to sing, that "he was not puffed up in his mind; he had, "no scornful eye, and he did not exercise himself in things that were too high." That it was absurd for any man to sing, "Rivers of "tears run down mine eyes, because other men "keep not thy laws," whilst he never knew a true sorrow and repentance for "his own sins." The result of this conference was, that instead of removing Howard's scruples, these reasons of his had such a convincing effect on Samuel Fisher's mind, that he found himself restrained from giving out David's conditions to the people to sing any more. And at length his continuing to preach for wages, contrary to the inward conviction of his conscience, becoming a burden too grievous for him to bear, he gave a rare instance of the honesty of his heart, and the value he put upon the testimony of a good conscience, by resigning his living, and divesting himself of the sacerdotal character, placing his confidence in Divine Providence for the future support of himself and his family. He rented a farm, and commenced grazier, by which he procured

cured a decent competency, enhanced by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart.

CHAP.
V.
1654.

Having discovered too great a mixture of human invention and tradition retained in the episcopal church, he withdrew from its communion; and joined the baptists, amongst whom he became an eminent teacher.

It was about this time that William Caton and John Stubbs came to Lydd, whom Samuel Fisher received into his house, remembering that scripture exhortation, *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers*. John Stubbs going to the baptists meeting where Fisher preached, and having gotten an opportunity to preach the gospel, according to the principles of his friends, he delivered his doctrine with a clearness and authority, whereby Samuel Fisher was so affected, that he soon after openly professed himself of this despised society, particularly on the following occasion: Hammond, his colleague in office, in a sermon uttering many bitter invectives against the Quakers, Samuel Fisher, incited by a more Christian temper, and a dispassionate regard to truth, thought his duty called upon him, in justice to his misinformed flock, and the injured Quakers, to bear his testimony in opposition to the calumnies of his colleague, but with the moderation and charity of a Christian, expressing himself in these terms, " Dear brother, you are very dear and near to me, but the truth is dearer and nearer: It is the everlasting truth and gospel which they hold forth." Which candid expressions drew one from Hammond, stamped with the mark of a very different spirit: " Our brother Fisher is also bewitched," But Samuel's faith was not of that cast, which re-

returned

CHAP.

V.

1654.

Wm. Caton and John Stubbs offered money for preaching, which they refuse.

turned reviling for reviling ; but in the sincerity of his heart having borne testimony to the truth, as held by the people called Quakers, he corroborated it by joining with them in religious fellowship, and proved a very serviceable member, both by his gospel labours and his judicious writings.

William Caton and John Stubbs continued their journey through Kent, where they met with many people religiously inclined, who readily embraced their doctrine ; and some of them being desirous to make them a pecuniary acknowledgment for their gospel labours, and being urgent with them to accept thereof, they acknowledging their good-will, but refusing their money, let them know it was not theirs but them which they sought.

Travelling on to Maidstone, John Stubbs went to the public place of worship then possessed by the Presbyterians, and William Caton to the meeting of the Independents. John Stubbs was taken from the worship-house and put into the stocks, and afterwards examined by the Recorder, to whom he rendered a good account of himself and of his estate, being sufficient to support himself and his family. Caton was next day taken from the inn, and also examined by the Recorder ; and they were both sent to the house of correction where they were searched, and their money, ink-horns and bibles, &c, taken from them. Afterwards they were stripped and their necks and arms put in the stocks, and were so cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the spectators. After all this, endeavours were used to compel them to work, but in vain ; for as they were guilty of the breach of no law, they justly refused to comply

At Maidstone they are sent to the house of correction, set in the stocks, and severely whipped.

ply with the unreasonable demand ; as their submitting thereto, being an agency in their own punishment, might imply guilt, from which they were free. Their persecutors, therefore, under the pretence that “ he that would not work “ should not eat,” kept them some days without victuals, allowing them only a little water once a day. Some of the malefactors imprisoned there, more compassionate than these ill-principled religionists, would have shared their bread with them, but they were not free to accept of it. But the report of their cruel treatment being spread in the town, and producing compassion in many of the inhabitants, and discontent and aversion to this arbitrary severity, an officer was sent to restore them some of their property, which had been taken from them, and then they purchased victuals with their own money. Not long after they were separated, and sent away with a pass by the officers, like vagabonds, being taken out at different ends of the town, and sent off by different ways. Afterwards they met again at London, and had not been long there, till they apprehended it a duty required of them to return to Maidstone, to fulfil their ministry in that place and places adjacent. This, after their late severe sufferings there, was a very great trial to them ; but believing it to be a divine requiring, they gave up in resignation to the divine will, and through the providential ordering of that hand in which they trusted, or the sense the magistrates retained of the disreputation brought upon them by their former cruelty, they were suffered to discharge their duty and pass away unmolested. From thence they went to Canterbury, and at the meeting of the Baptists and Independents had liberty to publish their

C H A P.

V.

1654.

Turned out
of the town
different
ways.

They meet
in London,
and return
to Maid-
stone, where
they dis-
charge their
service
without
molestation.

their

CHAP. V. their doctrine among them, whereby some being convinced of the truth thereof received their testimony.

1654.

Wm. Caton and John Stubbs go to Scotland.

In the latter end of this year and the beginning of the next they took their journey together to Scotland, and at Berwick^b William Caton went to the public worship-house, and after the priest had concluded, had pretty good liberty to deliver what was on his mind; but when he had done, was laid hold of and taken before the magistrates, who ordered him to be turned out of the town, which order was immediately executed. John Stubbs was that day at the Baptist's meeting, and had some service there. They travelled on to Edinburgh, where they found some disorders crept into the church through the unfaithfulness of some who had been convinced; but, through the effectual influence of their ministry, better order was restored amongst them. From hence John Stubbs returned to England. William Caton stayed some time longer in Scotland, exercising his ministerial labours in sundry places to good purpose; whereby, having discharged his service in this nation to the ease and clearness of his own mind, he returned to Swarthmore where he was received with much affection.

^b Sewel, p. 105.

C H A P. VI.

Richard Hubberthorn, George Whitehead and James Lancaster imprisoned.—The two latter discharged.—George Whitehead violently assaulted by the Populace, and rescued by a Trooper.—Richard Clayton for fixing a Paper on the Steeple-house Door at Bures in Suffolk, is whipped and sent away with a Pals.—George Whitehead, John Harwood and George Rose committed to Bury Gaol.—Indicted at the Assizes and fined.—Hardly used in Prison.—Released by order of Oliver Cromwell.—Account of James Parnell.—He travels through Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire into Essex.—His Sufferings.—His Trial.—The Judge prejudiced against him.—Used with great Cruelty in Prison.—Dies by his hard Treatment there.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORN coming into Norfolk, at Wymondham, feeling a Christian concern to exhort the congregation in the steeple-house there, after the priest had ended his sermon, was committed to Bridewell, and from thence the next day to Norwich castle, where he was lodged in a very incommodious prison, being a poor hole in a cross wall, and there detained till the time of the sessions. On his appearance there, the justices waving the original cause of his commitment, took occasion from his appearing before them with his hat on to charge him with a contempt of authority, and under that pretence recommitted him to prison, where he lay a long time after.

C H A P.
VI.1654.
Richard
Hubber-
thorn in
Norfolk,
committed
to prison.

George

CHAP.
VI.

1654.

George
Whitehead
and James
Lancaster
imprisoned.

George Whitehead also, believing a duty required of him to go to that called Peter's church in the city of Norwich, to bear such testimony as the Lord might give him, in endeavouring to discharge his duty, was haled out and much hurt, and from thence hurried to the Guildhall before the mayor, who examined him concerning water baptism and some other things, in hopes to get some answer from him which might furnish a more plausible pretext for committing him to prison than the occasion he had given by his Christian exhortation as above; but getting no advantage against him from his answers, he committed him to prison notwithstanding. James Lancaster, for calling the people to repentance in the market at Norwich, with one Christopher Atkinson, had been committed to the same prison a short time before, where not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, they lay in their clothes on the floor for eight weeks in the cold winter, which was a great hardship, especially on George Whitehead, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had been tenderly educated by his parents.

Discharged.

At the ensuing sessions for that city, George Whitehead and James Lancaster were discharged by the court, but still detained by the jailer under pretence of fees several weeks longer, till the jailer died, and his widow, of a more merciful disposition, set them at liberty.

Atkinson being of a rougher temper, for uttering some bitter expressions against his opposers, was detained longer in prison by actions laid against him by a priest and an attorney, and by giving way to heat and passion he fell from the tenderness of his first conviction, and ministered

ministered occasion to the adversaries to speak reproachfully. C H A P.
VI.

Not long after this Thomas Symonds, for asking a priest a serious question respecting his doctrine, was committed to Norwich castle; and George Whitehead going to visit him and another of his friends under confinement, was by order of the mayor detained there about three weeks, without any cause but the arbitrary will of the magistrate. These repeated instances of despotic rule in men professing a sacred regard to religious liberty, and under colour of procuring which, they had not hesitated to plunge the nation into all the miseries of a civil war, have furnished the opposite party, not without much plausibility, with occasion to bring under suspicion the sincerity of their pretensions: That under the pretext of redressing grievances, they meant only to wrest the sceptre out of the hand that bore it, to wield it with equal or superior severity over those, who were not of their own sentiments in their religious as well as political creed.

Amongst numbers who were convinced in those parts by these able ministers of the gospel, Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, was Captain John Laurence, (and most of his family) who having been a member of some consequence, of an independent congregation at Norwich, was summoned to their meeting in the parish church, called George's of Tombland, to answer their charge against him for leaving their communion; and he being disposed to appear was accompanied by George Whitehead. The charge against him was in effect, His forsaking their church or communion; his entertaining strangers or persons dangerous; and holding dangerous

1654.
Thomas
Symonds
imprisoned,
and George
Whitehead
visiting him
is detained.

1655.
John Laurence being
convinced
is summoned to a
meeting of the independent
for leaving their communion.

CHAP. dangerous doctrines. To the first he answered;
 VI. That in his forsaking their communion he had
 followed the apostle's advice, Tim. ii. 3. "Hav-
 1655. ing the form of godliness, but denying the
 " power, from such turn away."

G. White-
 head at-
 tempting to
 exhort the
 people is
 violently af-
 faulted by
 the rabble,

After ^a John Laurence had given his reason for leaving them, they proceeded to excommunicate him; and a great concourse of people being gathered upon the occasion, George Whitehead felt a lively concern animating his mind to deliver a brief exhortation among them; but had scarce stood up, when he was pulled down, and held down by force, till some of their church haled and pushed him out of the steeple-house, and exposed him to a rude multitude, prepared for violence and mischief, from whom he received much gross abuse, being dragged along the street, frequently thrown down on the stones, and thereby grievously hurt and bruised. Thus dragged out of the city, he came near a great house belonging to a lady Hubbard, her chaplain coming out to see the occasion of the tumult entered in to discourse with George Whitehead; and during their discourse the mob, who seemed intent upon further mischief, stood round them in a ring to hear what passed. In the mean time a trooper coming up, and seeing how he was beset, kindly offered him his assistance, and rescued him from their hands: for laying his hand on his sword, and commanding the mob to give way, he conducted him safely to his quarters at Thomas Symonds's house in the city. This trooper, whose name was Robert Turner, was afterwards convinced, and joined the society of the people called Quakers, residing at Lynn in Norfolk.

and rescued
 by a troo-
 per.

Richard

Richard Hubberthorn^b being still detained a prisoner in Norwich castle, George Whitehead continued moving about, and attending meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by Richard Clayton and others. After Richard Hubberthorn was set at liberty they joined again as companions in gospel fellowship, and had several large and comfortable meetings together. In several of these meetings they were interrupted by opposition from some of the preachers of other societies; and by moderate enquiries for the clearer understanding of their doctrine from others; and were endued with wisdom and recollection of scriptures to answer the objections of the former, and satisfy the enquiries of the latter; whereby two of them, Richard Townsend, and John Burch, a preacher among the baptists, were so far affected by their instructive remarks in the explanation of their doctrines, that after a season of serious consideration they were both convinced of the truth thereof, joined in society with friends, and in process of time became serviceable members and ministers among them.

^c On the 30th of the month called July 1655, George Whitehead, John Harwood and Richard Clayton passing through Buers, a town in Suffolk, the said Richard Clayton did fix a paper on the door of the Steeple-house there, being as follows, viz.

“ If you do set up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarter, you set up such as the prophet Isaiah disapproves of, Isa. lvi. 11. And you that do set up such as bear rule by their means, you set up such as the prophet

CHAP.
VI.
1655.
R. Hubberthorn being set at liberty George Whitehead and he joined again in travelling.

^b George Whitehead's Journal, p. 60, 62.

^c Ibid.

CHAP. VI.
 1655. “ prophet Jeremiah and the Lord disapprove,
 “ Jer. iv. And you that set up such as seek for
 “ wool and make a prey upon the people, you
 “ set up such as the prophet Ezekiel disapproves
 “ of, Ez. xxxiv. And you that set up hire-
 “ lings, you set up such as Micah disapproves
 “ of, Micah iii. And you that set up such as
 “ are called of men *master*, stand praying in
 “ the synagogues, have the chiefest places in the
 “ assemblies, you set up such as Christ disap-
 “ proves.” Mat. vi and xxiii. With sundry
 other quotations from scripture.

This paper being stuck up^d, some people came together to read it, to whom George Whitehead and John Harwood gave a Christian exhortation *to live in the fear of the Lord, and to turn from the evil of their ways, &c.* While

G. White-
 head, J.
 Harwood
 and R.
 Clayton
 taken up.

they were speaking a constable came and carried them before Herbert Pelham, an Essex justice, then at Buers, who examined them, though officiously, being out of his precinct, and then sent them, together with Clayton, to Thomas Waldgrave, a justice at Small-bridge, who having asked them a few Questions, left them in the custody of the constable till Pelham and he had laid their heads together. The issue of their

Clayton
 whipped
 and sent a-
 way with
 a pass; the
 others im-
 prisoned.

consultation was, that Richard Clayton, by Waldgrave's order, was whipped publicly as a vagabond, and sent out of the town the same day with a pass; a proceeding not justifiable by law, Clayton being a man of reputation, and known to have a competent estate. John Harwood was the next day sent to Edmundsbury gaol, and George Whitehead the day following;

G. Rose im-
 prisoned.

and a few weeks after George Rose was sent to the

^d George Whitehead's Journal, p. 67, 68.

the same prison by justice Gurdon with a mittimus assigning no breach of law nor any matter of fact, nor indeed had he given any just occasion of offence, except his asking a question of the priest of Stoke after his sermon, at which the priest was displeased, and the justice to avenge the parson's quarrel, took this extrajudicial course to send the poor man to prison.

CHAP.
VI.

1655.

At the next quarter sessions ^c Whitehead, Harwood and George Rose, were indicted as common disturbers of the magistrates and ministers. The justices who committed them were their sole accusers, and incensed against them; and an ignorant jury being empaneled, by direction of the court presently found them guilty; whereupon they were fined twenty nobles each, and recommitted to prison till payment. George Fox of Chaselfield, commonly called George Fox the younger, to distinguish him from the other of that name, being present at the trial, and observing the prejudice expressed by justice Gurdon against the prisoners, said to him, as he was coming out of the sessions house, *Repent of thy unjust actions this day, for otherwise thou canst not escape the just judgment of God.* Upon this Gurdon laid hold on him, and had him before the bench, who demanded sureties till the next sessions, which he not complying with, they sent him to prison with the others.

Indicted at
the sessions
and fined.

On the 22d of November Henry Marshal, for speaking a few words to a priest after his sermon was ended, was, by order of justice Gurdon, first set in the stocks, and then sent to Edmundsbury jail. At the next sessions he was fined twenty marks, and remanded to prison.

At

CHAP. VI. At the same sessions George Fox was called, but no indictment laid against him; yet the court sent him back to prison.

1655.

Their hard
usage in pri-
son.

The usage of these five prisoners was very hard: Because they would not gratify the jailer's avarice in paying him the price he demanded for their lodging, but demanded a free prison, not knowing how long their imprisonment might continue, he turned them down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-straw; because they declined advancing his gains by buying his strong liquors, against the use of which they had a conscientious scruple; because they bore their testimony against the drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders in his house: and because they reproved him for his hypocrisy, who, while he suffered, and for his gain promoted these disorders, made high pretensions to religion; and on the day called Sunday would summon his prisoners together, pretend to give them instruction, and exercise a kind of devotion among them: for which inconsistency of conduct, and fruits so opposite to religion, being charged with hypocrisy, his daughter exclaimed, *'What! do you call my father a hypocrite, who hath been a saint these forty years!'* But it was such saintship as his which brought too much of the religion of this age into disrepute. For these causes he was exceedingly embittered against them, so as often to strike them on the face, and grievously abuse them various ways, both by words and blows. His servants also, and some of the drunken prisoners, encouraged by his example, were often exceedingly

exceedingly abusive to them, by their expressions and mischievous actions; the prisoners frequently took away their food and other necessaries, alledging the jailer gave them leave so to do; and one more desperately wicked than the rest frequently kicked and smote them, and threatened in a drunken fit to kill them, saying, *If he killed them he should not be hanged for it.*

C H A P.
VI.

1655.

It was, as hath been remarked, because they would not take rooms from him at his price, but demanded a free prison, that they were thrust into the common ward among felons, and grossly abused there by the jailer's connivance, if not instigation: Yet even here they could not obtain a free prison; for after they had been in prison about thirty weeks, he demanded arrears of dues for fourteen pence a week from each of them, which they, who were obliged to buy even the straw they lay upon, remonstrating against as an unreasonable demand, he ordered the turnkey to take away their bed-clothes and boxes, which was done; and he threatened to take their coats from off their backs. Their bed-clothes being taken away, they were obliged to lie in part of their body-clothes upon straw for the space of twenty-four weeks^f.

When a woman friend brought them some necessaries of linen, &c. to replace what had been taken from them, the jailer caused them to be seized. When provisions were brought them, they were examined before they would be suffered to be delivered. One time being enraged at their constant testimony against the drunkenness, swearing, and other gross disorders abounding in the jail through his self-interested con-

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nivance,

^f George Whitehead's Journal, p. 82, 83, 85.

CHAP. VI. ^{VI.} nivance, the jailer caused them to be put down into a dark dismal dungeon, in which was a dangerous deep pit. When their friends came to visit them, they would not be permitted; and if they endeavoured to speak to them at the window or door of the jail, they had frequently water thrown upon them to drive them away.

1655.

Enquiry into their
hard treatment,
ordered by
Oliver
Cromwel,
&c.

At length an account of their hard usage was sent to some of their friends in London^e, upon which they made application to the Protector and his deputy Fleetwood, representing the inhuman treatment they had received: And an order was sent down to have the matters of fact complained of examined into by four justices; who hearing their complaints in the jailer's presence, which he could not gainsay, some of them blamed the jailer, and charged him not to suffer his servants to abuse them, for if they did they would send them to Ipswich jail.

After this examination they met with better treatment: the jailer, although exasperated at their exposing of his cruelty, was restrained, through fear, from exercising himself, or suffering his servants or prisoners to exercise cruel abuse toward them, as hitherto he had done; and therefore afterwards, when provoked, contented himself with calling them ill names. But one of the justices, named *John Clark*, being the jailer's neighbour, and a fellow member of the same community, in favour of his reputation, and that of his religious profession, seemed to discover a manifest partiality to his side, endeavouring as much as he could to palliate or extenuate the jailer's misconduct; so that from his behaviour through the whole examination,

mination, they conceived little hope of a full and impartial account's being returned to the protector by them; or that their release would follow the justice's representation, which it did not for some time.

C H A P.
VI.
1656.

But the report of their barbarous treatment, and of the hardships which they endured, spreading abroad, again reached their friends in London, which caused them to be more solicitously concerned for their relief, and to redouble their efforts to effect it by repeated applications to Oliver Cromwell; which being seconded by the private applications of Mary Sanders, (afterwards Mary Stout) a waiting gentlewoman in Cromwell's family, and one of the people called Quakers, whose prudent and exemplary conduct had gained her a respectful esteem in that family; their joined solicitations at last procured the following order for their release, after an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months^b.

“ Thursday the 16th of *October*, at the Council
“ at *Whitehall*.

“ Ordered, by his Highness the *Lord Protector*, and the Council, that the *Quakers* imprisoned at *Colchester* in the county of *Essex*,
“ and *Edmundsbury* and *Ipswich* in the county of
“ *Suffolk*, be forthwith released and set at liberty. And it is referred to Sir *Francis Russell* to
“ take care that the same be done accordingly;
“ as also to consider how the fines set upon them,
“ or any of them, (if any) may with most convenience be taken off and discharged; and
“ likewise to take order, that upon their being
M 2 “ set

Order for
their re-
lease.

^b George Whitehead's Journal, p. 93, 94.

CHAPTER VI. "set at liberty they be forthwith sent to their own homes."

1656.

"W. Jessop, Clerk of the Council."

Pursuant to this order Sir *Francis Ruffill*, who was a moderate man, and averse to persecution, caused them immediately to be set at full liberty, without any restriction as to returning home, leaving them at liberty to travel whithersoever the persuasion of duty or inclination might prompt them.

George Whitehead adds that in all their hard personal sufferings they were favoured with peace and consolation in the inward sense of divine support, bearing up their spirits and strengthening their faith, and preserving their bodily health; under the feeling whereof, in their afflictions, they were frequently made to sing praises to his holy name, who thus preserved them, to the astonishment of their fellow prisonersⁱ.

Account of
James Parnell.

In the beginning of this year James Parnell, who hath been already mentioned to have been convinced in a conference with George Fox, during his imprisonment in the dungeon at Carlisle, travelled southward also, labouring in the ministry of the gospel, and the propagation of those doctrines he received as truth; for which service he was eminently qualified, although but a youth of about eighteen years of age. He was born at Retford in Nottinghamshire, and had the advantage of a good education, in the schools of literature^k. He was convinced of the truth of the principles of the people called Quakers, and joined them in society as early as the sixteenth year

ⁱ George Whitehead's Journal, p. 95, 96.
p. 106.

^k Sewel,

year of his age, and for that reason was despised and rejected by his relations. Being low of stature, his bodily presence appeared contemptible, which encreased the admiration of his excellent mental qualities, in those who could view him through the medium of cool judgment, divested of envy and prejudice; for in the person of the apparently despicable lad, were concealed the wisdom and understanding of age and experience, the affecting preacher, and able disputant; being always ready to give a reason of the hope that was in him, and maintained the doctrines which he preached against their opposers. In qualifications for the ministry he seemed behind few of his fellow labourers; in suffering for his testimony he experienced even greater severity and inhumanity.

C H A P.
VI.

1656.

He took his journey through Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely into Cambridgeshire, preaching the gospel and disputing with opposers. At Cambridge, for publishing a declaration against corrupt ministers and corrupt magistrates, he was imprisoned, and detained in prison over two sessions, and afterwards turned out of the town as a vagabond. He soon after returned, and disputed with the scholars of the university, from whom he met with very rude and cruel treatment. He thence prosecuted his journey into Essex (being the first called a Quaker who preached the gospel in that county.) At Stebbing, Felsted, Witham, Coggeshall and Halsted, and other places, he preached with remarkable effect, many by his ministry being convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About the middle of summer he came to Colchester, and on the first day of the week preached to a large number of people, first at his lodging, then at
the

Travels
through
Hunting-
donshire
and Cam-
bridgeshire
into Essex.

CHAP.
VI.

1656.

Stephen
Crisp con-
vinced by
him.

the public place of worship; next in a great meeting appointed on purpose. After that he disputed with the town-lecturer and another priest in the French school, all in one day; in which labours the wisdom and patience of the true Christian manifestly appearing, a considerable convincement was the fruit of his incessant labour. Among the rest, Stephen Crisp, a man of good parts, coming to discourse or dispute with him at his lodging, and James appearing at first sight a mere boy, he viewed him with a contemptuous eye; but upon entering into discourse with him, the awful frame of his spirit, the weight and conciseness of his expressions fixed so deep an impression on the mind of Stephen Crisp, that he was effectually convinced, and became himself an eminent publisher of the same doctrines. James Parnel spent the rest of that week there in preaching, exhorting and disputing to the convincement of many more; while others were provoked to such a degree of rage, as often to reward with blows his fervent zeal for their reformation. In particular, as he was coming out of Nicholas's Steeple-house in that town, he was met by a blind zealot, who struck him a violent blow with a great staff, saying, "Take that for Christ's sake;" to whom this innocent sufferer meekly replied, "Friend, "I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake." From thence he went to Coggeshall, where the independent professors had appointed a * fast on purpose

* It was no unusual thing for the professors of those days to appoint public fasts, and days of humiliation, frequently on no very important occasions; but by their fruits they too often manifested their humiliation to be but voluntary humility, their praying will-worship, and their fasting the fast of the

pose to pray against the spreading of error, by which they meant the doctrine of the people called Quakers. The priest who officiated on the occasion had prepared a sermon, replete with the common-place invectives against that people, the fruit of prejudice and prepossession. James Parnel being present, esteemed it his duty to vindicate himself and brethren against his opprobrious misrepresentations; but stood still till the priest was coming out of the pulpit, he then began with these words: *This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace.* Then proceeding in his vindication of the Quakers (so called) in reply to an assertion of the priest, that they were on a sandy foundation, he signified, *I am ready to prove that the Quakers are not on a sandy foundation, and that thou art a false prophet and a deceiver.* After some words had passed, a person standing by accused Parnel, that he owned no church: He

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the hypocrite. The day of humiliation giving no interruption to the pursuit of their ambitious views; their praying, performed in an unforgiving spirit, discovered in their vindictive disposition to all that opposed them, or thwarted their measures; and their fasting to be seen of men: on many other occasions as well as this proving them proper objects of the severe reprehension of the prophet Isaiah, delivered in the name of the Almighty to the Jews, "Behold, ye fast for
"strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness;
"ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to
"be heard on high. Is it such a fast as I have chosen, a
"day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his
"head as a bulrush, and spread sackcloth and ashes under
"him? Wilt thou call this a fast or an acceptable day to
"the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen: to
"loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens,
"to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every
"yoke?" Isaiah, lviii. 4, 5 and 6.

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His suffer-
ings.

Hé replied, *That's false*: Being asked, what church he owned, he answered, *the church in God*. Whereupon the priest said, *that was nonsense*: Parnel taking a bible out of his pocket shewed it was a scriptural expression, and charged the priest with blasphemy in calling it nonsense. Upon his coming out of the Steeple-house he was apprehended and brought before four justices. After examination he was committed to Colchester Castle, where he was closely confined. And at the time of the ensuing assizes at Chelmsford, he was fastened to a chain with felons and murderers, and so led above twenty miles through the country, remaining chained both day and night.

His trial.

At his trial he was brought to the bar hand-cuffed, but the people exclaiming against that barbarity, at his next appearance his manacles were taken off. The accusations brought against him were, That in a riotous manner he did enter into the parish church of Great Coggeshall, that he there did stand and told the minister *he blasphemed and spoke falsely, using many other reproachful words against him*: And that he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life or conversation, appearing to be an idle person. He was also accused with contempt of the magistracy and ministry. In his defence he alledged, *That he entered the Steeple-house in no riotous manner; but came thither perfectly quiet and alone without any disturbance*: That he had told the priest *he blasphemed in saying the church in God was nonsense* he denied not; but did not own himself a vagabond or idle person. And he did not think it either criminal or indecent to call an unjust judge unrighteous, a persecutor persecutor, or a deceiver deceiver.

The

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The Judge
prejudiced
against
him.

The judge seemed to be predetermined against him, saying, the Lord Protector had charged him to punish such persons as should condemn either magistrates or ministers; and in his charge to the jury he directed them to bring him in guilty. After consultation, the jury found nothing to lay to his charge but a book or paper, entitled *The Fruits of a Fast*, in which he had answered the justice's mittimus, in purport agreeing with the accusation before recited; and wherein he exposed the errors and inconsistency of the charge against him, justified the peaceableness of his own demeanour, and gave a solid account of the work of divine grace upon his soul, and of the necessity laid upon him to testify against the formalities and will-worship of human invention; and this writing he had owned to be his. But being indicted for a riot, they found themselves under difficulty to agree in their verdict. The judge and the clerk strove to wrest some expressions for their purpose from the foreman, which the others did not consent to, and himself was unwilling to answer their questions fully. James Parnel was then made to withdraw, and being called in again, the judge fined him 40*l.* for contempt of the magistracy and ministry, and re-committed him to the same prison till he should pay the fine. And the jailer was ordered not to admit any *giddy-headed people*, by whom were meant his friends, to have access to him.

His persecutors; who by their past treatment discovered a disposition of malicious cruelty, having thus far carried their point in obtaining a sentence against him, whereby they had him entirely in their power, lead us to open a scene, which (when we contemplate the innocence, meekness and patience of the sufferer on one hand,

CHAP. hand, and the persevering insatiable cruelty of
 VI. his enemies on the other) is sufficient to raise
 1656. commiseration in every breast less obdurate than
 theirs.

Used with
 great cru-
 elty in pri-
 son.

The jailer, cruel in his own disposition, or inured to cruelty by his office, punctually observed the orders he had received; for he would suffer none to come near him but such as came to abuse him; and the jailer's wife, equally cruel, not only ordered her servant to beat him, but struck him with her own hands, swearing she would have his blood^l. When his friends sent him victuals, she ordered the other prisoners to take them; and when a bed was sent him, she refused him the use of it, but obliged him to lodge on the hard damp stones. After this he was put into a hole in the castle wall, not so wide as some baker's ovens, which hole was a great height from the ground; and the ladder placed for the purpose of going up to it, being several feet too short, he was obliged to climb up and slide down by a rope to fetch his victuals and other necessaries; for when his friends would have given him a cord and basket to draw up his food by, the savage keeper would not suffer it. By lying long in that damp hole his limbs grew greatly benumbed, so that as he was once going up the ladder with his food in one hand, attempting to catch the rope with the other, he missed his aim and fell down on the stones, whereby he received such contusions in his head and body that he was taken up for dead^m. After this he was put into a hole underneath the other, there being two stories of such narrow vaulted holes in the wall. In this, while the door was shut,

^l Sewel, p. 108.

^m Ibid. and Bessé, v. i. p. 193.

shut, was scarce any air, there being no other aperture to admit it. Thus bruised with his fall, and shut up where he could hardly breathe, his life appeared in imminent danger; whereupon two of his friends, William Talcot and Edward Grant, wealthy tradesmen of the town, offered to be bound in sufficient bonds, and Thomas Shortland, another of his friends, offered to lie in prison in his stead, so that he might have liberty to go to William Talcot's house till he might recover of his bruises; but this was denied. Nay, so great was the inhumanity and inexorable malice of his persecutors, that when they were requested only to grant him the common privilege of the other prisoners, liberty to walk sometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means. It happened once that the door being open, he went out of the hole into a narrow yard between two walls, at which the brutal keeper was so enraged, that he locked up the door and shut him out in the yard all night, in the extremity of winter. His tender constitution, unable to support such severe shocks, sunk under the multiplied hardships of his unmerited imprisonment, and after ten or eleven months he fell sick and died. Two of his friends, Thomas Shortland and Ann Langley, were present at his departure. When death appeared, he said, *Here I die innocently*; and a little after, turning his head to Thomas, *This death I must die, Thomas, I have seen great things, don't hold me, but let me go*. He had repeatedly said one hours sleep would cure him of all. His last audible words were, *Now I go*; and then stretched himself out and breathed his last. Though he finished his course in his youth, dying about the age of nineteen, he had approved himself a strong

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Dies by his
hard treat-
ment.His charac-
ter.

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strong man in Christ, and having an eye to the eternal recompense of reward, was preserved in faithfulness to the end, through manifold sufferings, with remarkable innocence, patience and magnanimity. The mere consideration of the youth of real offenders hath not uncommonly excited commiseration, even towards such as have been guilty of flagrant enormities, and procured a mitigation of their punishment or pardon of their crimes. But the relentless obduracy of his persecutors seems to have been proof against every incentive to sensations of compassion or humanity; no regard to the tenderness of his youth, to the innocence of his demeanour; to the solicitations of his friends, or to the danger of his dying under their hands, could prevail upon them to relax of their rigorous treatment in the least degree. And instead of repenting of their cruelty, the apparent cause of his death, they seemed to continue it even beyond the grave; for they raised a slanderous report, that he was the occasion of his own death, by wilfully refraining from food, which, whether it originated in the remains of that malicious disposition, the effect of which he so severely felt, or from conviction of guilt to palliate the infamy of their unmerciful usage, was proved absolutely untrue by the testimony of credible witnesses, who were frequently with him during his sickness; and to whom that groundless calumny was a clear indication of the deep rooted malice or criminal policy that invented it.

C H A P. VII.

Sufferings of William Dewsbury.—Imprisonment of him and Joseph Storr.—Examination before the Judges Hale and Windham.—Imprisonment of John Whitehead and Marmaduke Storr.—Second Examination before Judge Atkins, and Recommitment.—Released by Order from Oliver Cromwell.—Thomas Stubbs imprisoned.—Committed to Bridewell and whipped.—Edward Burroughs writes to the Protector.—Reflections on Cromwell's Conduct in regard to the People called Quakers.—Account of John Lilburn: 1. Prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and put in the Pillory. 2. Prosecuted by the Long Parliament, and acquitted. 3. Prosecuted by Cromwell, acquitted, but detained in Prison.—In Dover Castle he is convinced of the Principles of the People called Quakers.—Anne Downer committed to the House of Correction and whipped.—Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse taken up and passed as Vagrants.—An angry Priest procures their Imprisonment.—Their Examination.—Committed to Exeter Jail.—Indictment at Sessions.—Cruel Usage of Margaret Kellam.

So epidemical was the causeless inveteracy against this people; so general the persecution under which they suffered, that we scarce meet with one person, whose travels and services are preserved on record, who escaped personal abuse or cruel imprisonment in any quarter of the nation.

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CHAP. tion. William Dewsbury about this time tra-
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 velling in Northamptonshire, came to Welling-

1656.
 Suffering of
 Wm. Dewf-
 bury.

borough, where as he was passing along the street, the priest Thomas Andrews called out to him "Give over deceiving the people, lest the "plagues of God fall upon thee^a;" to whom William replied, "Dost thou say I deceive the "people? make it appear wherein I deceive "them^b." Andrews answered, "Thou tellest "them there is no original sin;" to which William Dewsbury rejoined, "Didst thou hear me "say any such words?" upon which the priest went away. William being thus in public charged by the priest as a deceiver, thought himself called upon, in vindication of his own character, and that of the society, to bring the priest to the proof of his charge or public acknowledgment of the truth: For that purpose he went soon after to the Steeple-house, and waiting till the people were dismissed, he spake to them, who gave attention to his exhortation. Then addressing himself to the priest, he said, "Thou hast accused me of deceiving the people; prove thy accusation before this audience, or acknowledge the falsehood of it." But the priest without giving an answer went away: And William was haled out of the worship-house into the yard, where he preached to the people again, who stood quietly to hear him, till the high constable came, and laying hold of him led him to the market place, saying he would bring evidence against him for blasphemy. After a short time he was let go, and lodged at a friend's house that night; but next day a constable apprehended him with a warrant, granted against

^a Sewel, p. 119.

^b Bessé, v. i. p. 518.

against *the Quaker*, without mentioning his name, and took him before a justice, who committed him to Northampton jail by a mittimus, which was said to contain a charge of *blasphemy*; wherefore William solicited for a copy of it; but his request, though just and reasonable, *was not* granted.

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By the same mittimus Joseph Storr, who only came to hear his friend's examination, and against whom there was no accusation, was sent to prison along with him: So arbitrary were the proceedings of those magistrates, under a government professedly set up for dispensing universal liberty. They were imprisoned in a dungeon, twelve steps under ground, among felons, till the ensuing quarter sessions, at which they were brought before the bench of justices, where their mittimus was read: a copy of it again requested and refused.

Imprisonment of him and Joseph Storr.

No cognizance was taken of their cause, but they were remanded to prison, to lie there till the next assizes. At which they were brought before the judges Hale and Windham, and after a long examination, in which nothing criminal was made out against them, they were offered their liberty, on condition of giving bail for their good behaviour, and also for their appearance at the next assizes; which proposal they were unwilling to comply with, as an unreasonable demand from them who had given no just occasion for it, being neither convicted nor guilty of ill behaviour. They were recommitted to the same filthy dungeon, amongst the felons as before, till another assize. In the mean time several other of their friends were sent to bear them company in prison in the like arbitrary

Examination before the judges, Hale and Windham.

Returned to prison.

CHAP. trary manner, viz. John Whitehead, Marma-
VII. duke Storr, and Francis Ellington.

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Imprison-
ment of
John
Whitehead
and Mar-
maduke
Storr.

John Whitehead going into the Steeple-house at Wellingborough, and waiting quietly till the public worship was ended, asked the priest some questions about his doctrine and practice, to which he made no answer, but in contempt called him madman, and went away: But the people generally staying, were soon convinced he was not mad; for his powerful preaching and rational discourse impressed very different sentiments of him on their minds, procuring their assent to the soundness of his doctrine and his understanding. Intelligence of this being carried to the priest, irritated him to challenge John to a dispute; but the issue mortified him still more, because he missed his aim, which was to get some matter of complaint to the magistrates. He next wanted John to meet him before a persecuting justice to settle the dispute; but he avoided this open snare, signifying to the priest that he must appoint some other place. He then sent him notice to meet him at a public lecture, which he accordingly did; and there, being several other ministers and many people present, he waited quietly till their service was over: Then he proposed a question to the preachers; which they refused to answer; and Andrews, the priest, who had challenged him to dispute, instead of entering into the discussion of their differing religious sentiments, launched out into personal invectives and accusations against John Whitehead, who was not at a loss to vindicate his character by plain truth, to the conviction of many of the people. The priests seeing themselves not like to compass their design by these means had recourse to their last argument. By-
field,

field, priest of Torrington, having laid violent hands on John, and dragged him by force out of the Steeple-house; a warrant was procured to apprehend him as a vagrant, and he was carried before two justices, convened for that purpose. In contradiction to the charge, he insisted he was no vagrant, that he could prove his habitation and manner of living by one of his neighbours, a substantial man, if they would admit him to come in. Upon this Marmaduke Storr was called, who informed them of the place of John's residence, and that he had a wife and family, whom he maintained reputably^d.

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Then they asked Marmaduke his name and place of abode, and what was his business in those parts? He gave them full satisfaction in these points: that his residence was in Holderness, and his occupation that of a grazier; that his business there was to visit, and be an assistant to his brother Joseph Storr, prisoner at Northampton; and that from thence he proposed to proceed into Staffordshire to renew the lease of his farm near expiring. The account he gave both of himself and his neighbour was so unexceptionable that the justices were at a stand, and after some consultation with the priests, dropt the pretence of vagrancy, and determined to ensnare them both another way. They asked Marmaduke if he would confirm his testimony upon oath, and finding that he would not, they tendered them both the oath of abjuration. They answered, that they had sufficiently demonstrated their good affection to the commonwealth, in assisting it with their persons and estates in times

Marmaduke Storr.

CHAP. of its greatest straits, that they were well known
 VII. to be no papists, but that they could not swear
 1655, for conscience-sake. They then required sure-
 ties of them for their good behaviour, and upon
 their refusal they were committed to prison,
 whereby M. Storr was prevented from getting his
 lease renewed; so that his family were constrain-
 ed to remove, and carry off his stock at a day's
 notice, to his great detriment. And these, as
 well as the former, were detained in prison till the
 ensuing assizes, in the month called July, 1655,
 when they were all brought before Edward
 Atkins, Judge of Assize, before whom they pas-
 sed under a long examination, for it cannot be
 properly termed a trial, there being nothing
 against them to found an indictment upon, nor
 any living witness produced only an information
 exhibited by the Clerk, that W. Dewsbury, came
 into the church of Wellingborough, and stood
 there during the time of sermon and prayers with
 his hat on: and after the Minister had done, he
 spoke these words "the Priests preach for hire,
 and my people love to have it so, and what will
 you do in the end thereof," with other railing
 words, which made disturbance among the peo-
 ple. In his vindication Dewsbury related the
 matter of fact as specified before.

2. Exami-
 nation be-
 fore Judge
 Atkins.

Committed
 to prison
 again.

The Judge after examination of him and his
 fellow-prisoners, finding the allegations against
 them too frivolous for his attention, express his
 displeasure at being troubled therewith; and al-
 tho' he conducted himself towards them with a
 degree of temper and moderation beyond some
 others, yet he left them where he found them,
 that is, recommitted them till the next assizes,
 upon

upon their refusal to put in bail for their appearance there*.

During 1655.

* Their trial or examinations at large, would take up more room than I can conveniently spare, and therefore refer those who may desire further information to *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 518, &c. from whence this account is abstracted. The examination, however, of Francis Ellington, discovering the measure of justice dispensed to them all, will serve as a specimen of the rest:

Judge. Which is Ellington? *F. E.* I am so called. *Judge.* What are you here for? *F. E.* I was in bonds 15 weeks for my appearance at the general sessions, and when I appeared, no accuser or evidence appeared against me; I was convicted of the breach of no law, yet those called Justices committed me to gaol, where I have been kept in the dungeon these 13 weeks, among those arraigned for felony and murder; being taken from my outward habitation at Wellingborough, from my outward calling, and from my wife and five small children: and here am deprived of the benefit of the law of this nation, which no felon or murderer that is here is deprived of, for they have liberty to speak for themselves, and to have a fair trial, which is denied to us. *Judge, to the Clerk of the peace.* Where is your evidence against these men? *Clerk.* This Ellington is a receiver of these men, and here is a letter he writ to a Justice of Peace, wherein he accuseth him of injustice in committing Dewsbury and Storr to prison. *Judge.* Why do you trouble me with that which there is no matter of fact in? I much wonder you should trouble a Judge of Assize with such small things, and not end them in your own sessions, for we come hither to determine greater matters. *Mr. Ellington,* I have a great love for you, being a man that lives in this country: Will you enter into bond for your good behaviour, and to appear at the next assizes? *F. E.* I am of no evil behaviour, neither to this day hath any thing been proved against me, and if it can yet be proved by any one man here, that I have been of evil behaviour, or have broken any law of this nation, I am present to answer it, and give bonds for my liberty. *Judge.* You have transgressed the law, in that you come to the bar with your heads covered, because it is a contempt of authority. *F. E.* There is no law in this nation requires any such thing as putting off the hat; if there be any, I desire it may be read, that so before the country I may be convinced by the law, before bonds may be required. *Judge.* I shall deal

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Released by
order from
Oliver
Cromwell.

Imprison-
ment of
Thomas
Stubbs.

During their imprisonment their friends were not suffered to visit them, but several who attempted it were taken up and sent out of town with a pafs: About six months after their last examination as above, they were discharged by an order from O. Cromwell, after having suffered a grievous imprisonment (the two first 15 months) without any just cause or legal process against them^f.

Thomas Stubbs was another who experienced the illegal severity of the magistrates of this county about the same time; being concerned to exhort the inhabitants of Daventry to repentance, he was for this office of christian charity sent to prison by a Justice, of whom, when Thomas required *by what law he proceeded*, he received for answer, *by the law that saith all Quakers must*

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favourably with you, for I shall take your own bond to appear at the next assizes. *F. E.* First prove me a transgressor of the law; for the righteous law of God saith, where there is no law, there is no transgression; and there is no law in England that requires putting off the hat, therefore it is not a transgression; for which reason I desire I may have the benefit of an Englishman, which is not denied to any felon here among us; for I have to this day stood always faithful to the commonwealth, and have not forfeited any liberty, but have hazarded my life and estate to procure freedom, which I am now deprived of. *Judge.* If you will not put in bond, which I think is very reasonable, take him away. *F. E.* For my behaviour, if there be any here that can accuse me, I would have you countrymen to speak, any of you; if not let all the poor people in Wellingborough, and the towns thereabout, and those in Northampton, whom I have employed for those 15 or 16 years, in carding, spinning, dying, and weaving, declare what my behaviour has been towards them or others: For, till I was cast into prison, I employed more poor people at work about wool, than any one man in this country doth; yet notwithstanding what I have done and still do, I may not have the benefit of the law, as all malefactors here have. *Judge.* Take him away.

go to prison. On this ill-founded committal he was detained in prison thirteen weeks, till the sessions at which he was released, and then sent out of the county: Returning soon after to a meeting at Itham, he was taken thence and by two Justices committed to bridewell as a vagrant, where he was cruelly whipped, and endured much hardship, being not suffered to purchase necessities for his money.

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Committed to bridewell and whipped.

These arbitrary proceedings and severities of the magistrates incited Edward Burrough by letter to apply to the Protector to put a stop thereto, wherein he reminded him of his vows in the day of his distress; and that he suffered cruelty, oppression and tyranny to be practised in his name, by unjust imprisonments, and merciless persecutions of a peaceable and religious body of people; that he was to be accountable to the great judge of all mankind for the use he made of the power he was invested with. It doth not appear that his plain-dealing either drew any marks of resentment from the Protector, or any interposition of his authority to put a stop to the persecution of his friends.

E. Burrough writes to the Protector.

It is asserted that Cromwell's principles were in favour of religious liberty, and that he allowed it in the fullest extent to all, but the papists and prelatists: yet the Quakers (so called) may be justly added to the number of those who were not allowed that liberty. From what motive, in violation of his solemn professions, confirmed by oath on his entrance upon the protectorate, and probably in violation of the convictions of his own conscience he suffered and connived at the severe persecution of this unoffending society, is not easy perhaps to determine at this day. Mosheim writes, that "He entertained uneasy apprehensions concern-
ing

Reflections on Cromwell's conduct in regard to the Quakers.

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ing them; and in his first thoughts formed a resolution to suppress their rising community; but when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threatenings; and were in effect too powerful, or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from force."

It doth not appear upon what authority this account is founded, or from what source he drew his intelligence of Oliver's private thoughts; but from any historical narratives, which have fallen in my way, or the records of their sufferings kept amongst *this* people, I recollect no instance of the Protector's either amusing them with promises, or attempting to awe them by menaces; neither that he himself openly disturbed them on account of their religious opinions or practices; yet those who acted under his authority did grievously persecute them, and he gave little or no check to their persecution, although he had the power, and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. I do not imagine, however, that the uneasy apprehensions he entertained of them was the ruling motive of his conduct towards them. They not only professed themselves to be followers of peace with all men, but exemplified their pacific principles, by their patience under suffering, and unresisting submission to all the trying injuries they were exposed to, never betraying the least symptom of a disposition to revenge their wrongs, various and aggravated as they were; so that I imagine that Oliver's sagacity and intelligence would not be long in discovering he had nothing to fear from them.

But there was another body of men, whom he might be fearful of offending, because they have

have proved able to shake the foundations of established governments, much more his recently usurped dominion; the supporting himself in which at this time was with him the predominant consideration: I mean the clergy or popular preachers of the age, a set of men who had shewn themselves capable of exciting civil tumults to a disastrous degree, and who, the greater part of them, seem to have imbibed a spirit of hatred and bitter animosity against the Quakers, for their honest and undisguised testimonies against their hypocrisy, self-interests and lust of power, no less than their bringing over many of their hearers, and maintaining it unlawful to take tithes, or preach for hire. These men being the principal agents in promoting the persecution in which they suffered, I am ready to conjecture, that Oliver, who made every religious and moral consideration subordinate to that of retaining his sovereignty, might consider the Quakers as too contemptible, or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations; and that therefore he might safely connive at the oppression and persecution exercised by these men and their adherents, whereby he would keep them in temper, and attach them to his interest, to the strengthening of his authority with the people; as, on the contrary, by disobliging them, he might be fearful to add a powerful and dangerous party to the number of his adversaries, who were already too many.

For not only amongst the royalists and presbyterians, but even amongst the independents themselves, he had created himself many enemies; and these last perhaps the most virulent as being agitated under a keener sense of their
more

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more recent disappointment, in the abolition of their favourite republick, and the beholding of that power, which they expected to share amongst them, wrested out of their hands, and usurped by one man; who was therefore odious to them as the most perfidious of men, and the great betrayer of the publick cause^h.

Account of
John Lilburn.

1.
Prosecuted
in the Star-
chamber.

Put in the
pillory.

Amongst the malecontents John Lilburn was one of the foremost to oppose his usurpation. This man, originally a book-binder in London, ranked early with the assertors of civil and religious liberty on the broadest base. In his efforts in this cause, the ardency of his zeal, and the inflexibility of his temper, rendered him obnoxious to punishment or prosecution under the different successive governments of this age. First, in the year 1637, he suffered under the petulant tyranny of archbishop Laud, being accused before the Star-chamber for publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets, when refusing to take an oath to answer to interrogatories, as being a violation of the privilege of Englishmen, secured by magna charta, whereby no man was bound to accuse himself; for this contempt, as it was termed, he was condemned to be whipt, pilloried and imprisoned. During the execution of this sentence he harangued the populace, and declaimed against the tyranny of the bishopsⁱ. The Star-chamber, sitting at this time, ordered him to be gagged, and added to his former punishment, the lying in irons, and confinement in that part of the Fleet where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners are used to be put. In the year 1640 he recovered his liberty, by order of the long parliament^k, and was decreed damages against

^h Rapin.ⁱ Macaulay.^k Smaller.

against his judges. On the breaking out of the war between the King and Parliament, his principles led him to side with the latter, and his merit with this party raised him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he defeated the Earl of Derby on his march thro' Lancashire to join Charles II. in his invasion of England. In the year 1649, after the civil war was terminated, and the independent members of the long parliament had fixed themselves in the seat of government, Lilburn apprehending, that finding their ambition fully gratified, and tasting the sweets of unlimited and undivided authority, their sole aim was now the establishing and perpetuating of the supreme power in their own hands, forgetting or overlooking the more generous alledged purposes, for which the war had been undertaken and carried on, to the overturning of the monarchy, viz. the redressing of the grievances of the subjects, and establishing their liberties and immunities on a permanent foundation (and the sequel seemed to prove his apprehensions not entirely groundless) published a pamphlet, entitled *England's Second Chains*. This liberty was so ill relished, that he was thrown into prison^m, as a promoter of sedition and discord in the commonwealth, and illegally prosecuted; and altho' a petition was presented to the parliament, signed by a vast number of subscribers, to stop the prosecution they had commenced against him; and seconded by a female petition of the same tendency; yet, disregarding these solicitations, the prosecution was carried on, and Lilburn was brought to a trial for high treason after about seven months imprisonment,

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1655.

2.
Prosecuted
by the long
parliament,
and acquit-
ted.

¹ Sewel, p. 122, 123. ^m Hume.

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1655.

3.
Prosecuted
by Oliver
Cromwell.

Acquitted.

prisonment; on which occasion his intrepid spirit did not desert him; with invincible constancy he maintained his sentiments, and pleaded his cause; so that, notwithstanding powerful exertions to prevail on the jury to bring him in guilty,ⁿ he was acquitted, and after some time regained his liberty. Again, when Oliver Cromwell had usurped the supremacy, this zealous partisan of liberty rose against his usurpation, and both by word and writing exerted himself in representing to the publick the treachery and tyranny of his proceedings, whereby Cromwell, being both provoked and alarmed, in the apprehension of the danger of his credit and authority being undermined by such bold attacks, likewise ordered him into custody, and to be impeached of high treason. At his trial he maintained the like intrepidity as before, asserting in answer to the charge against him, "That what he had done was not only no high treason, but the government was such that no high treason could be committed against it, and that it was the duty of all good Englishmen to oppose it, as a tyrannical usurpation; that he might have attained great preferment if he could have brought himself to acquiesce in it; but believing this to be unlawful, his life was to be a sacrifice for his honesty, but he was exempt from fear, because he was asserting a good cause." After this defence the jury acquitted him, notwithstanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary. Being acquitted by the jury, his immediate release was his legal right, but Cromwell, in defence of his own safety, thought it necessary to transgress the boundaries

ries of law, and kept him in prison, thro' the remainder of his government, during which time, being moved from one prison to another, he was at length confined in Dover Castle. ° His long confinement had changed the temper of his mind, from an active and bustling to a serious and contemplative cast, and preventing him from conversing in the busy scenes of life, furnished him with opportunity to be more conversant with himself in religious recollection: In his confinement here, becoming acquainted with Luke Howard, an inhabitant of Dover, and one of the people called Quakers, before mentioned, and conversing with him on religious subjects, Luke gave him such convincing reasons for his profession, ^p as gained Lilburn's assent, and brought him over to his sentiments and profession, in part at least, as appears by the letters that passed between him and his wife at this time, the following abstracts whereof will convey an idea of the present temper of their minds, whereby it may be perceived that adversity had proved a school of profitable instruction to them both.

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Continued
in prison.

In his confinement in
Dover castle
is convinced.

His wife having visited him in prison, soon after wrote him the following laconic admonition:

“ My dear, retain a sober, patient spirit, which
“ I am confident thou shalt see shall be of more
“ force to recover thee than all thy keen metal
“ hath been. I hope God is doing a work on
“ thee and me too, that shall make us study ourselves more than we have done.”

To

CHAP. To which he returned in answer, after other
 VII. passages :

1655.

“ ————— I am deeply entered into my part.—The mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and also go thro’ thine, and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along, hand in hand with me.—I am sorry thou art so straitly put to it for money ; but to live upon God in faith in the depth of straits, is the lively condition of a christian.—I can now favourily live on bread and cheese and small-beer alone, for saving of money. And as for my liberty, about which thou so weariest and spendest thyself, I can say in my present temper of spirit—*It is good being here* ; for here in Dover Castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with more clear, plain and evident knowledge of him, than ever I had in all my lifetime.—And now submissively and heartily I can say, the will of my heavenly Father be done in me, by me, and for me.”

Dover Castle,

JOHN LILBURN.

4th 10^{mo}. 1655.

After he had lain some time in Dover Castle, Cromwell seemed inclined to release him, on condition of signing an engagement not to draw a sword against his Government ; but being not yet so far convinced, as to believe the use of the sword unlawful, nor perfectly approving of that point of self-denial, he refused to purchase his liberty on this condition. However, persevering in fidelity to that knowledge of duty he had already attained to, he became in process of time, so fully convinced of the unlawfulness of war under the Gospel dispensation, as to make the following

lowing publication of his sentiments : That being brought to believe in his inward teacher, which shall never more be removed into a corner, by the teachings thereof, he was taught to die to sin, and to the very occasion and real grounds of outward wars, and was therefore firmly persuaded that he should never thereafter use the temporal sword, nor join with them that did. This paper was dated from Dover Castle, the 4th of 3^{mo}. 1655.

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He was continued a prisoner here till Cromwell's death, and then being liberated from his long confinement, he continued steadfast in his profession of those doctrines he had received as truth, and died in London, Anno 1660.

In this year, Anne Downer, of London, being one of the earliest sufferers in that city, a maiden of about thirty years of age, and the first person of her sex who preached publicly there, for some expressions against the preacher who officiated in the Steeple-house at Stepney, was committed to the house of correction, and detained there ten weeks, and because she refused to work was beaten with a rope's end. She was a woman of excellent endowments, and became exceeding serviceable in religious society, fitly qualified to exhort others, and remarkably exemplary in her christian care over persons in sickness and poverty^a.

Miles Halhead, and Thomas Salthouse^b, travelling from their respective habitations in Lancashire and Westmoreland, with intention to visit their friends imprisoned in Cornwall, in their passage through Devonshire were apprehended, and

Miles Hal-
head, and
Thomas
Salthouse,
passed as
vagrants.

^a Bessé, vol. i. p. 361.

^b Ibid, p. 146.

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and after 14 days close confinement at Exeter, were by warrant from Colonel Coplestone, the high Sheriff, ordered to be passed as vagrants from thence to their own dwellings: an illegal procedure against men of substance and reputation, who travelled on horseback, lodged at the best inns, and paid punctually for their entertainment. On the way between Taunton and Bridgewater, the officer who had them in charge was suddenly seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, which disabled him from proceeding farther. They returned to Taunton and informed a justice of peace of the casualty. He thereupon suspended the further execution of the warrant, and set them at liberty, wishing the Lord might be with them.

Return to
Plymouth.

An angry
priest pro-
cures their
imprison-
ment.

They went to Bristol and returned to Plymouth, where they had several meetings; one of which was in the garden of John Harris, his house being too little to contain the numerous auditory; their plain and powerful ministry reached the consciences of many, and was generally well accepted. At the close of the meeting, one George Brooks, a priest, chaplain of the Nightingale frigate, but a man of a * profligate character, spoke to the people in commendation of what had been delivered, declaring it to be the eternal truth. Thomas Salthouse, a man of deep discerning, justly suspecting the chaplain's sincerity, remarked that he had spoken many good words; but withal asked him, *Whether his life corresponded with his expressions? For that it was he who hath the witness in himself that can set to his seal that God is true.* The priest being irritated at this reproof, and meditating revenge, two days after

* This was proved by sundry certificates from Captains of Ships, &c. &c. See Sewel, p, 118.

after procured a warrant from the Mayor, by which they were taken from a meeting at the house of Robert Cary, and imprisoned in Guildhall: Next day they were brought before the mayor, magistrates and common council, who ordered the doors to be shut during their examination, which lasted three hours; after which they remained in custody several days, while the magistrates, who had determined to send them to the county gaol, were deliberating how to form a plausible pretence for their commitment. At first they charged them with denying the Trinity, of which they fully cleared themselves. Then they tendered them the oath of abjuration, but the proclamation enforcing that oath giving no authority to imprison any for their refusal, they omitted proceeding thereupon. At length they made out their mittimus, grounded on reasons either false or frivolous, or absurd.

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Their examination.

Commitment to Exeter jail.

1. As disturbers of the publick peace. [A false charge.]
2. For divers other misdemeanors. [A general charge unsupported by any matter of fact.]
3. For acting against a late proclamation prohibiting the disturbing of ministers and other Christians in their assemblies. [It is observable that the meeting was of their appointment, and therefore the disturbance, if any, was made by their prosecutor, and not by them.]
4. For acting against an ordinance of the Lord Protector and his council, lately made against duels, challenges, and provocations thereunto. [The absurdity of this charge appears plainly at first view.]

5. For

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For refusing to give sufficient security for their appearance at the next general sessions. This appears to be a direct falsehood, for two of their friends, Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton, had given security, and entered into recognizance, for their appearance, but on further deliberation it was vacated, under pretence it would not be according to law, and they were sent to prison next day. A certificate whereof was signed by those two and nine others. *Sewel, p. 116.*]

Indictment
at sessions.

After six weeks imprisonment in Exeter gaol, they were indicted at the sessions for a *breach of the ordinance against duels*, and particularly for *divers disgraceful words and gestures* against George Brooks, clerk, &c.

Witnesses were provided to prove the indictment, one of whom on his way was heard to say, *I am going to Exeter to swear against the Quakers, and if swearing will do it I'll make them suffer soundly*: But the court did not chuse to bring the matter to a fair hearing: For though they pleaded, and desired a trial, their plea was refused, and no trial granted. But the oath of abjuration was tendered them in court, which, it is well known, they could not take, and only tendered as a pretext to prolong their imprisonment. In fine, they were fined 5*l.* a piece, and committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behaviour.

Pursuant to this sentence they were removed from the county gaol to Bridewell, and a guard of soldiers placed over them, with strict orders, signed by one Captain Joyce, *to detain all that should come to visit them, especially if they suspected them to be Quakers*. They lay on the ground in a close dark room many days, and were continued

tinued near seven months under such cruel usage, as had the aspect of a design to destroy them: for their persecutors administered not any thing for their support, but exerted their endeavours to prevent others from bringing them the common necessities of life, and imprisoned several of those who came to see and relieve them. But this extreme malice of their enemies rendered the christian charity of their friends the more distinguished, who frequently hazarded the loss of their own lives to supply their wants.

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1655.

In the same year Margaret Kellam, an innocent woman, of a tender constitution, good education and considerable property, was treated with great cruelty and ignominy, without any just occasion administered on her part, as is manifest from the sequel. * On the 19th of December she went to the house of Peter Ceely, mayor of Plymouth, and told him she had a word from the Lord to him: he bid her come in, heard her, and confessed that *what she said was very good and true*; yet was so displeased with this truth, that he sent her to prison, detained her there about a week, when at the intercession of her friends she had liberty to return home. But on the 4th of the next month, about four o'clock in the morning, a constable and serjeant came to her chamber, broke open the door, and refusing to shew their warrant, took her away by violence, tied a rope about her, bound her arms behind her, threw her across a horse, and tied her feet under its belly, and in this inhuman manner carried her ten miles. Then loosening the cords, they told her they had a warrant to carry her to Exeter gaol. There she lay till the quar-

Cruel usage
of M. Kellam.

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ter

CHAP. VII. *ter sessions, when endeavours were used to get an indictment drawn up against her; but the clerk and his coadjutors, altho' desirous to do it, could find nothing in her conduct whereon to ground an indictment, and so she was released by the sheriff after an imprisonment of about two months.*

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CHAP. VIII.

Imprisonment of G. Fox, Edward Pyott and William Salt in Launceston Gaol—Their Trial before Judge Glyn.—P. Ceely accuseth G. Fox of Treason.—Who refutes the Accusation.—They are fined and recommitted to Prison in Doomsdale.—The Justices at the Sessions at Bodmin order the Dungeon to be cleansed.—A Friend offers himself to lie in Prison in G. Fox's stead.—Thomas Lower convinced.—The Prisoners discharged by an Order from Major General Desborrow.—The Imprisonment of these Friends conducive to spread their Principles.

CHAP. VIII. *A SHORT while before the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox from London travelled westward. ^b At Pool, William Baily, a Baptist teacher was (with others) convinced by his ministry, and entered into society with the people called Quakers, among whom he became afterwards an eminent minister. G. Fox continued his journey through Devonshire into Cornwall to Market-Jew,*

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Jew, being accompanied by William Salt of C H A P. VIII London and Edward Pyott of Bristol, where he wrote a paper containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of Christ the light. 1656.

“ This paper coming to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and a justice of the peace, when G. Fox and his companions came to Ives, the place of Ceely’s residence, while George was taking a walk by the sea side, his two companions were taken into custody, and brought before the said Ceely, to whose house George soon followed, where the abovementioned paper being produced, he was asked whether he would own it, and he said, *yes*. Then he tendered him the oath of abjuration; upon which he drew from his pocket the answer to said oath, which had been given to the Protector; they were all three nevertheless sent to prison under a guard of horse with the following mittimus :

G. Fox, E. Pyott and W. Salt taken up in travelling in Cornwall.

“ Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the
“ peace of this county, to the keeper of
“ his highness’s jail at Launceston,
“ or his lawful deputy in that behalf,
“ greeting.

“ I send you herewithal, by the bearer hereof,
“ the bodies of Edward Pyott of Bristol, and
“ George Fox of Drayton and Clea in Leices- Mittimus to Launceston jail.
“ shire, and William Salt of London, which
“ they pretend to be the places of their habi-
“ tations, who go under the notion of Quakers,
“ and acknowledge themselves to be such, who
“ have spread several papers tending to the dis-
“ turbance of the publick peace, and cannot
“ render any lawful account of coming into
“ these parts, being persons altogether unknown,
“ and having no pass for their travelling up and
“ down

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 1656.

down the country, and refusing to give sureties for their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, &c. These are therefore, in the name of his highness the Lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyott, George Fox and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his Highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail not, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and seal at Saint Ives the eighteenth day of January, 1655.

" P. Ceely.

By this mittimus it is evident on what vague pretences the Quakers (so called) were committed to prison; for such frivolous reasons as it is grounded upon might be urged against any man almost travelling where he is not known, even men of property and repute, such as G. Fox's present companions were. Their guard was a company of unthinking and unfeeling mortals, by some of whom they were but rudely treated, and particularly by their captain, whose name was Keat. By these men they were guarded to Launceston, and there delivered to the custody of the keeper of the common gaol, who demanded of them seven shillings a week for their horses, and the same for their own diet each. Being the first of this people seen in this corner of the nation, they not only excited wonder and curiosity in the people, who were, many of them, of a dark and insensible cast; but

but by the novelty and simplicity of their manner and address, they raised their animosity and anger to a great degree. When they saw them address every single man of every degree as such, with the plain appellation of *thou* and *thee*, when they saw them decline the compliment of the hat and knee to the great, no less than the mean, there were some so envious or so ignorant as to expect no less than that at the assizes they would be condemned to death, if they declined these marks of honour to the bench; yet there were many others of a more amicable disposition, who from different parts of the country came to visit and discourse with them; with many of whom their religious conferences had that good effect, that they were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

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1656.

After nine weeks confinement the assizes came on, at which they were brought to their trial before judge Glyn a Welchman, at that time chief justice of England. ^{Their trial before judge Glyn.} They were guarded to the court by a band of soldiers and the sheriff's men, and so great was the curiosity raised in the people to see this new kind of prisoners, that it was with great difficulty they could make their way to and from the court, through the multitude with which the streets were crowded; all the doors and windows were also filled with spectators, as if to see some strange sight. Historians generally agree that the Protector in his civil administration paid a just regard to equity and clemency; and was careful to fill the benches with judges of integrity, who did justice without respect of persons, But this chief justice did not appear at that

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1656.

Ceely ac-
cuses G. Fox
of treason.

G. Fox re-
futes the
accusation.

this time to act up to that character. He was so highly offended at their appearing before him with their hats on, that when they made the reasonable demand of justice for their imprisonment for nine weeks wrongfully, being taken up without just cause in their journey by major Ceely, he refused to hear them, unless they would appear before him uncovered, which (it being to them a matter of conscience) amounted to an absolute refusal, being only to be heard and receive justice on a condition they could not comply with. Instead of granting their demand, an indictment was read against them, conceived in such terms, that at first G. Fox thought it had been against some of the thieves; for it asserted, that *they came by force and arms, and in an hostile manner, into court*, whereas they were brought thither as prisoners, which made them say, *it was all false*, and there seems to have been no judicial procedure upon it. Then major Ceely falsely and absurdly charging G. Fox with making him privately a treasonable proposal of raising forty thousand men to bring in King Charles, George desired their mittimus might be read in the face of the country, that the real causes of his commitment might appear. ^c This request, equitable as it was, the judge repeatedly refused to comply with. At their next appearance, the prisoners repeated their request to have their mittimus read, and the people appearing desirous to hear it, one of his fellow prisoners, having a copy, was permitted to read it aloud. Which being done, G. Fox remarked upon it, that if he would have given surety, he might still have been at full liberty to carry on the design.

design (if he had any) which Ceely charged him with, at the same time appealing to the court, whether Ceely had not made himself a party in the treason by omitting it in the mittimus, desiring him to go out of the country, and never charging him with pretended treason, nor making any discovery thereof till now.

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The judge clearly perceiving, that in this accusation Ceely instead of ensnaring G. Fox had ensnared himself, let that business fall. Ceely then finding this intended snare broken, got up again, and accused him, that he struck him such a blow as he never had in his life; seeming thus to sport with justice, truth and conscience, in idle endeavours to criminate innocence with groundless absurdities; for this blow he alledged himself to have received from G. Fox proved to be nothing more than a merited reproof, for an hypocritical complimenting of him, while he was suffering under his malicious imprisonment.

In fine, either from the mittimus, the indictment, or Ceely's accusations, no sufficient grounds of legal crimination appearing, the judge instead of discharging them whom he could not condemn, or regarding their demand of justice for their false imprisonment, ordered them to be taken away; and in their absence fined them twenty marks a piece for coming into the court with their hats on, and ordered them to be detained in prison till their fines were paid.

Fined and
recommitted to prison.

Being thus fixed in prison upon such a commitment, that there was little probability of their being speedily released, they thought it necessary to discontinue the weekly payment of seven shillings a piece for their diet for themselves, and as much for their horses, which the jailer had hitherto, in a manner, extorted from them. This

defal-

C H^A P. VIII
 1656. in Doomsdale.
 defalcation of his oppressive gains stirred up the wicked temper of this jailer to use them with great inhumanity: He turned them down into a dismal dungeon, called Doomsdale, usually appropriated to the reception of atrocious criminals, after their condemnation. 'This place was noisome beyond description, it being remarked that most who were confined there lost their health thereby; for the excrements of former prisoners were said to have remained there unremoved for many years, so that it was all like mire, in some places to the top of their shoes, and the jailer would not suffer them to cleanse it, nor to have beds or straw to lie on. They were therefore obliged to stand there all night, the place being too filthy to allow them room to sit down. Thus they were kept a considerable time before he would let them cleanse it, or suffer them to have any victuals brought in, but what they got in through the grate, and even this with difficulty.

The justices at the sessions at Bodmin give order for cleaning the dungeon.

This cruel treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when upon representing their case to the justices, they obtained an order *for opening the door of Doomsdale, and that they might be suffered to clean it, and buy their provisions in the town*; having obtained this liberty, they sent for Anne Downer, ^a a young woman before mentioned, from London, to come down to them to buy and dress their meat; who readily complied with their request, attended them cheerfully, and became a serviceable assistant to them during their confinement here.

A friend offers himself to lie in prison for G. Fox.

While G. Fox lay here in prison, one of his friends offered himself to O. Cromwell to lie in prison, body for body, ^b in George's stead; to which

which propofal Cromwell answered, *he could not grant it, being contrary to law*, and turning to fome of his council ftanding by him, queried, *Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the fame condition?* Upon this, and other applications on their behalf, he fent an order to the governor of Pendennis caſtle to examine into the circumſtances of their caſe: On which occaſion, Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, remarked to him, that *He could not give George Fox a better opportunity of ſpreading his principles in Cornwall, than by imprifoning him there.* The truth of which obſervation the ſequel confirmed, for he was viſited by many perſons of repute, of whom ſeveral embraced his doctrine; one of whom was Thomas Lower, a phyſician of London, who aſking many queſtions concerning religion, received ſuch clear answers from G. Fox that he ſaid, *his words were like a flaſh of lightening, they ran ſo through him, adding, that he never met with men of ſuch wiſdom and penetration in all his life.* By their means he became fully convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and thenceforward entered into community with them. The whole time of their imprifonment was about thirty weeks, when they were diſcharged by an order from major general Deſborough.

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VIII.
1656.

Thomas
Lower
convinced.

Diſcharg-
ed.

The caſe of the jailer who had ſo barbarouſly uſed them is obſervable. He before lay under the infamous character of a thief, and was ſaid to have been burned in the hand, and in the next year after their releaſe he was turned out of his place, and for ſome crime was caſt into jail himſelf, where for his unruly behaviour, he was

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was by the succeeding jailer put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to remember how he had used those good men in that nasty dungeon. Thus the divine justice overtook him, deservedly rewarding him with the same measure, which he had unjustly meted to others. At length he died in prison *poor and miserable*.

Their imprisonment conducive to spread their principles.

Their imprisonment was (through the ordering of divine providence) conducive to the propagating their principles extensively through the western counties, and adding considerably to the number of their profelytes; not only of those who came to visit them in prison, and were convinced by G. Fox there; ^k but many others by the ministry of other friends, who being incited by brotherly sympathy to come from different parts of the nation to visit them, and other friends in prison here and in the neighbouring counties, were at the same time engaged to exercise their ministerial labours as they passed along, and met with convenient opportunities, in declaring their experience of the virtue of true religion to the people, in order to excite them to the attainment thereof for themselves; and these labours met with a cordial reception from many, who were convinced thereby. Their success alarmed the priests and professors, and they, as usual, intligated the magistrates to interpose their authority to check their progress. For which purpose the justices in ^l Devonshire made an order of sessions to apprehend, as vagrants, all Quakers travelling without a pass. They also appointed watches in the streets and highways, under pretence of taking up suspicious

picious persons, principally with intention to take up these friends of theirs on their journey to visit them in prison, and to put a stop to their preaching; in consequence whereof, in the summer of this year, above twenty persons male and female were committed to Exeter gaol. At the assizes the men were fined and confined in like manner as G. Fox had been, for appearing with their hats on; and the women were remanded to prison till they should find sureties for their good behaviour. They were lodged among the felons, and lay generally upon straw, by reason of which, and the filth of the place, many of them fell sick, and one of them, named Jane Ingram, died there.

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In tracing the variety of arbitrary and unjust proceedings against this body of people, one might imagine that in these unsettled times, notwithstanding the professed high notions of civil liberty, little regard was paid to legal rule: That men destitute of the feelings of humanity, of virtue and good sense, suddenly starting up into offices of power, which their original station gave them little reason to expect, and for which by their education and prejudices they were ill qualified, knew no bounds of moderation in the use of it; and that their politics, no less than their religion, consisted more in specious pretensions, than in a clear comprehension of the principles of real liberty, and a practice regulated thereby. * For these magistrates and officers of their watches took up not only strangers, but

Remarks.

* We have a curious account in Thomas Elwood's journal of the manner of his being taken up, and the treatment he met with: Calling at Isaac Penington's, in his return from London, and designing to proceed home into Oxfordshire, his

C. H. A. P. but their own neighbours travelling about their
 . VIII. lawful occasions, as clothiers going to the mill,
 1656. and others upon affairs of businets: Of those;
 some were cruelly beaten, and others taken up
 and

his friend kindly accommodating him with a horse as far as he might chuse, at Beconsfield he sent back the horse, intending to walk the rest of the way; but he had not walked to the middle of the town before he was stopped and taken up by the watch. He asked the watchman by what authority he stopped him on the highway, who produced an order from the constables to take up all rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. Thomas thereupon asking for which of these he took him, and informing him at the same time of the signification of these terms, and that none of them belonged to him, though the fellow was too ignorant to answer him, he was strong-headed enough to detain him: after some time the constable, being sent for, came; who appeared something more mannerly but not much wiser than his watchman. Being at a loss how to dispose of his prisoner, he went to consult with the chief men of the town upon the subject, who assembling in a poor hut, denominated the Town-house, he was by the constable brought before the mock-senate, some of whom eying him with a supercilious air, asked him some impertinent questions, to which he returned suitable answers. Then they entered upon consultation how to dispose of him till they could take him before a justice to be examined. At last to save charges they concluded to make him walk about the streets with the watch till next morning; till one of this grave assembly wished them to consider whether they could answer that, and if the law would bear them out in it. An old woman who lived in this town-house (who had in her youth lived with some of his ancestors) being present at their consultation, upon hearing the prisoner's name, gave them such an account of his family as made them suspect their prisoner as good a man as themselves. Whereupon the council broke up, and the constable took him home to lodge at his house that night, and the next morning, proposing as a favour, to let him slip out at the back door and make off, he signified, that as he came in, so he would go out at the fore door; when he appeared determined he was suffered to depart his own way, after being causelessly detained on his journey home. *G. Fox. W. Sewel.*

and whipped for vagrants, tho' men of considerable property and estates, and not above four or five miles from their habitations. Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of peace for the most part of forty years, and consequently well known for what he really *was*, they cast into prison for a jesuit.

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New Parliament.—Samuel Fisher attempts to deliver a Message to the Protector, Parliament and People.—Being prevented he publishes it in print. The Parliament passeth an Act against Vagrants, which seems designed against the People called Quakers.—Sufferings of several Persons of that Denomination.—Account of James Naylor.—He comes to London.—Martha Simmonds's Complaint to J. Naylor at first rejected by him.—Afterwards her passionate Sorrow makes an Impression, darkening his Understanding.—He is reproved by G. Fox, but slight's his Admonition.—He is taken up at Bristol and committed to Prison.—Sent up to the Parliament.—His Sentence.—Remarks thereupon.—Ineffectual Petition in his Favour.—First Part of his Sentence executed.—Second petition—Rejected—J. Naylor visited by five Preachers.—Execution of the second Part of his Sentence.—He is sent to Bristol and whipped there.—His Recantation.—Taken ill and dies.—Reflection upon his Case—Account of John Camm.

IT was about this time the Protector thought it necessary to convoke a parliament to sit on the 17th September, better adapted to answer his purpose,

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1656.

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1656.

New parliament.

pose, than those he had before summoned under that denomination. He is thought to have been conscious of the weakness of his title to the dignity he possessed, having only received it from hands which had no right to bestow it. ^m The authority of a parliament, therefore, appeared to him requisite to confirm his own; but as he had found by experience that, in the present temper of the times, a free parliament could hardly be procured to coincide with his main design he used every art in his power to influence the elections, and to get a decided majority of his friends into the house; and in order to make sure of this point, he placed guards at the door, to permit none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about an hundred, who either refused a recognition of his government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. The residue seemed implicitly resigned to act under Cromwell's dictates.

Sam. Fisher attempts to deliver a message to the Protector and parliament.

Samuel Fisher, beforementioned, late priest of Lydd, from an impulse on his mind, was present at the opening of this sessions, and heard the Protector's speech, in which he asserted, *that he knew not one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England.* After the speech was ended, Samuel Fisher, taking a convenient stand, said, that he had a word to speak from the Lord to the Protector, the parliament and the people; but had not proceeded far, till he was interrupted by an exclamation, *A Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he shall not speak.* ⁿ This prohibitory exclamation is said not to have arisen from either the Protector or members, who discovered no disinclination to hear him, but from two angry

angry justices and some others, by whom being interrupted, the Protector arose, and the house broke up. CHAP.
IX.

Fisher, by this interruption, being deprived of the opportunity of delivering his message (to which undertaking apprehending himself unequal, he had desired to be excused from it, with fasting, tears and supplications) took the only method left him to ease his mind of its burden, by publishing in print the substance of what he intended to have spoken; being a zealous reprehension of the hypocrisy of those, who under a shew of godliness, made long prayers, and kept frequent fasts; yet at the same time lived in pride, pomp and luxury, and persecuted those who were in reality a pious and conscientious people. With an admonitory caution to the Protector, that, *unless he took away the wicked from before him, and all flatterers and false accusers, his throne would never be established in righteousness.* 1656.
Being prevented he publisheth it in print.

This parliament appears to have been of a Remark. complexion to which the foregoing reprehension might not be improperly applied, as they soon manifested their promptitude to give a sanction to persecution. It hath been evidently shewn what an illegal and despotick rigour was exercised by the bigotted and passionate magistrates of this age, who disclaiming persecution in theory, practised it in reality, in the misapplication of the laws against vagrants, to the punishment of men truly religious, for their religious persuasion of duty, in travelling at their own charges to preach the gospel, and propagate righteousness and purity of life in the nation. This parliament, as if to give a sanction to their unreasonable severity, and strengthen their hands
in

CHAP. in oppression and cruelty, early passed an act
 IX. against vagrants, and wandering, idle, dissolute
 1656. persons, under which description they comprehended all who were gone from home, and could not give a satisfactory account of their business.*

Remark.

If the Quakers (so called) found themselves before exposed to tyrannical punishments, and causeless deprivation of their liberty, this combination of the legislative with the executive power rivetted their chains, as it deprived them of all hope of redress, and exempted their persecutors from all fear of controul. When we consider this act so perfectly coinciding with the mode of proceeding before adopted by inveterate magistrates, in bringing them to punishment, one must conclude that many of these prejudiced magistrates had been admitted into this packed Parliament, or had a great influence over the members; or else that their teachers had leavened both into one sentiment and disposition towards this *inoffensive* body of men, as the act seems plainly designed to legalize their arbitrary manner of punishing, and the title expressed in vague and indefinite terms, on purpose to admit a latitude of construction, whereby it might be extended to comprehend such of them as travelled abroad to propagate their doctrines, which as their adversaries could not confute by argument, they seemed determined to suppress by violence; and by an arbitrary stretch of power, to make harmless actions illegal, since the general tenour of their conduct administered no just cause of crimination. For the vagrancy is applied, not only to idle, dissolute persons, but all that go from home, who cannot give a satisfactory account of their business; but what account should be deemed

deemed satisfactory seems to be left to the judgment, or caprice of the civil magistrates to determine at his discretion. Leaving the admirers of the government of the nation at this æra to reconcile such an act to *any just notion* of civil liberty, I proceed to the consequential sufferings of several of this people; wherein we shall view the same spirit of hostility and intemperate determination actuating the magistrates in the execution, through the remainder of the present and succeeding year; but I mean not to swell the volume, or exercise the reader's patience with a full recital of the various cases of sufferers under this act, preserved in the authentick records before me; but to restrict myself to a few of the most remarkable, as a specimen of unfeeling perseverance in inflicting, and *patient equanimity* in sustaining, unmerited punishment.

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Henry Clifton, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeshire, was taken up by a constable, and carried before a neighbouring justice; and after some reproach and derision, sent by him to another justice four miles distant, by whom without any reasonable cause he was sent to prison, where he lay in the dungeon among condemned felons a considerable time. Ann Blakely, for openly testifying against the corruption of the times, being also imprisoned at Cambridge and detained there six months, during her imprisonment, two of her friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, being moved in brotherly sympathy to pay her a visit, were, for this office of christian duty, and no other cause, themselves cast into prison: They had travelled from home, and the account they could give of the motive of their journey, however reasonable and laudable, if not satisfactory to a prejudiced magistrate, he had doubtless an authority from the

H. Clifton.

Ann Blakely.

R. Hubberthorn and R. Weaver.

C H A P. preceding law, to commit them, probably, dur-
 IX. ing pleasure. The said Richard Hubberthorn
 1657. for not departing the town at the mayor's com-
 mand was also sent to the house of correction
 for three months.

Devonshire.
 Tho. Cur-
 tis and J.
 Martin-
 dale.

Thomas Curtis of Reading, woollen-draper, coming to Plymouth upon affairs of trade, went from thence accompanied by John Martindale to West-Alvington: being in bed at a friend's house, a constable with attendants came with a warrant at midnight, and next day carried them before two justices, who sent them to Exeter gaol, notwithstanding that upon their examination, they made it appear that they were travelling upon lawful and requisite affairs of business. They were brought before the judge at the ensuing assizes, where nothing was laid to their charge; but the judge, taking occasion from their hats, fined them 40l. a piece for contempt, for nonpayment of which they were kept prisoners above a year after. During his imprisonment Martindale having obtained leave of the jailer to visit a friend at Ilchester went to meet-
 ing at Cullington, where he, Humphry Sprague and Thomas Dyer lodged at a friend's house. In the evening two constables came and required the strangers to go with them, which (they having no warrant) was refused. Next morning they came with a warrant, and carried them before the justices at the quarter-sessions at Honiton, to whom they gave account of their places of abode, being one of them but two miles from home, and another not above five: however the justices sentenced them all as vagrants, to be whipt in the market-place, and sent with a pass from

J. Mar-
 tindale,
 H. Sprague,
 Tho. Dyer.

from tything to tything, which was accordingly done. C H A P.
IX.

George Whitehead after his release from Edmundsbury jail took the opportunity of paying a religious visit to his friends in the city of London, a service which he had in prospect before his imprisonment, but was prevented thereby: his visit was very acceptable to friends, and conducive to the convincement of several, through his powerful and effectual ministry. His stay in the city was not long, till he thought it his duty to go back into Essex and Suffolk, notwithstanding his late suffering and imprisonment there, and the inimical disposition of several of the magistrates to the society of which he was a member; for being favoured with the conscious sense of inward peace, in reward of the faithful discharge of apprehended duty, and relying upon divine protection for support, while they continued in the way thereof, the ministers of that day were neither to be deterred by the remembrance of past, nor the prospect of future sufferings.

Having travelled through Essex and part of Suffolk, appointed several meetings and met with a variety of occurrences, he appointed a meeting at Nayland at a friend's house, which being too small for the purpose, the meeting was held in the yard or orchard, which many friends from Essex and Suffolk, as well as others, attended. While Geo. Whitehead was in the course of his testimony, a person, under the character of a gentleman, rushed into the meeting, with a rude company of attendants, and with violence pulled him down while he was preaching; and some of them with the constable took him to Affington, before John Gurden, an old and bitter adversary, Taken before justice
Gurden.

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CHAP. who, as soon, as he appeared before him, began
 IX. to threaten him; upon which George desired
 his moderation, to hear him before he passed
 1657. judgment; to which, he replied, *you are a moderate rogue*: moderate rogue! said George, such language doth not become a magistrate, especially one professing christianity.

Gurden repeating his menaces, and unseemly language, bidding him *go quake*, after some examination, ordered his clerk to take it down in writing; which being read, George was required to sign it, which he refused to do, as being partially taken. Afterwards Gurden bringing a law-book in his hand, read an abstract of a statute against vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and dissolute persons, pedlars, tinkers, &c, with the penalty appointed for them. And although the prisoner came no more under any of these descriptions, properly understood and applied, than the justice himself, yet he was informed by this justice, that *they had ordered him to be whipped at Nayland, and if he came again into the country, he should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; and if he came a third time he should be hanged.* To which menace George replied, *I am no such person as thou hast mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave, and dost not know how soon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and disappoint thy evil designs against me: however I fear not thy threats: If the Lord whom I serve require my return into those parts, I must obey him.*

The warrant for his punishment being signed and sealed by John and Robert Gurden, father and son, two justices, was delivered to the constable with this charge from R. Gurden, to see it executed upon him to purpose at his peril. The copy of the warrant followeth, viz.

By whom
 he is ordered
 to be
 whipped.

“ To all Constables, and all whom it may concern, and every of them.”

“ Be it remembered, That one George Whitehead, a young man of about twenty years of age, who confesseth himself to have been born at Orton in Westmoreland, being this present day found a vagrant, and wandering at Nayland in this county, contrary to the laws of this nation, and being thereupon brought before us, two justices of peace for this county, is by us ordered to be openly whipped at Nayland afore said, till his body be bloody, as the law in such case enjoyneth : and he is to pass thence from parish to parish by the officers thereof the next way to Orton afore said, before the first day of June now next ensuing. Dated at Assington in this county of Suffolk the first day of April 1657.”

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1656.
Warrant
for the execution.

The warrant was the next day put in execution, with such severity as displayed the malignancy, and acrimony of the justices and officers in full light. The constable procured a foolish fellow, without feeling or discretion, to inflict the punishment, who being provided with a long sharp whip, laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence, whereby George Whitehead's back and breast were grievously cut, his skin torn, and his blood shed in abundance, and the insensible fool still went on, unrestrained by the constable, till some of the spectators, who were numerous, and many of whom were so affected at beholding their cruelty as to drop tears, cried out to stop him ; whilst the victim of the justices' vengeance was so supported in patience, so filled with inward peace and consolation in Christ, under the cruel torture and mangling of his body, that his spirit was raised, and his mouth opened to sing aloud in praise to that divine being, who had counted him

him worthy to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, to the amazement and conviction of the by-standers.

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1656.

When the hand of the executioner was stayed by the cry of the people, G. Whitehead, as he stood there, undressed with his wounds and stripes fresh upon him, addressed the spectators, informing them it was a proof of a minister of Christ patiently to endure affliction, according to the Apostle's testimony, 2 Cor. vi. *Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults:* Whereby he appeared to rise superior to the indignity intended him by these invidious magistrates, to manifest himself to be no proper object of the servile and contemptuous punishment they had adjudged him to suffer, being neither a vagrant in the legal sense of the word, nor in any sense a disorderly person. And therefore the shame and ignominy designed to him more properly reverted to these magistrates, who abused the power they were invested with to the oppression of innocence, and the punishment of those that did well.

After the execution he mounted his horse, and was attended by the proper officers with the warrant and pass to Sudbury, Clare, Haverill, and to the edge of Cambridgeshire; the said warrant and pass all along reflecting disgrace and disgust to the justices who signed them, it being a common and natural reflection with the people who saw him well-habited and well mounted, "This young man doth not look like a vagrant." When he came to the last place the constable being employed in his necessary labour, looking upon the young man, upon the warrant, upon the unreasonable burden imposed upon himself by

by the caprice and malice of two distant justices, CHAP. IX.
delivered him the warrant and pass to convey himself whither soever he might think best. 1656.

Being thus set at liberty he returned, notwithstanding the justices menaces, to finish his service in those parts, where he was interrupted by his being causelessly arrested and punished: the curiosity of the people being awakened by his late sufferings, caused a great resort to the meetings where he was, to see and hear the young man who was so cruelly whipped at Nayland.

Many were tenderly affected towards him, and many convinced of the truth of the doctrine he delivered. Thus by the over-ruling hand of divine providence the arbitrary measures pursued to prevent the growth of this people contributed to their encrease and establishment.

Humphry Smith and Samuel Curtis riding together near Axminster, were stopped, and carried before a justice, who, upon consultation with a priest, ordered them to be whipt as vagrants, burnt their books and papers, took their money from them, and sent them away with a pass. H. Smith, S. Curtis.

Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds of Totness, was stopped on the road by a drunken fellow, who took away her horse: she complained to a justice of peace, being then about ten miles from home; but having no pass, the arbitrary and officious justice sent her to Exeter gaol, ordered her horse to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation being in the direct road to Exeter, they took her by another road six miles about, to prevent their injustice being exposed amongst her neighbours, who well knew she was no vagrant.

George

CHAP. George Bewley, John Ellis and Humphry

IX.

1656.

Sprague, after a meeting at Bridport in Dorsetshire, were by the mayor and bailiffs caused to be whipt for vagabonds and sent away with passes: George Bewley desired liberty to go to the inn for his horse and clothes, but was not suffered. When he had gone some miles from the town, the officer who conducted him gave him his liberty; whereupon he returned for his horse and clothes, and the bailiffs caused him to be whipped again, and sent away without them: he returned again, went to his inn, paid his host, and was riding out of town on his horse, when the bailiffs ordered him to be taken and whipped the third time. They then suffered him to depart with his horse and clothes which they had unjustly detained without any colour of law, and cruelly tortured the owner for claiming his own property.

It was under this parliament that James Naylor suffered punishment by a most rigorous sentence, most unmercifully executed. And although that extravagant conduct, which subjected him to those sufferings, was disclaimed and censured by the generality of those of his own persuasion; yet as some authors (Hume in particular) instance his case, almost singly, as a specimen of Quakerism, it seems proper in this place to introduce a narrative of the principal occurrences of his life, whereby we may be enabled to form a sounder judgement, how far his miscarriage ought to be imputed to the body of the Quakers so called, or their principles.

Account of
James Naylor.

James Naylor was born near Wakefield, of honest parents, his father was an husbandman of good repute, having a competent estate to live upon after the manner of that country; about the

the age of twenty-two he married, and continued his residence near Wakefield till the civil war broke out in 1641. He then entered into the army, in which he continued eight or nine years, first under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-master under major general Lambert, till being disabled by sickness, he returned home about 1649. As to his religious profession, he was in society with the Independents till the year 1651, when, being convinced by the ministry of G. Fox, as noticed before, he joined in community with the Quakers. He was a man of excellent natural parts, and had received a tolerable education in his native language, and wrote well. And being by his conviction turned to the measure of divine grace in his own heart, by a diligent attention thereto he grew in experience of the work of sanctification, and received an excellent gift in the ministry; and while he kept in obedience to the dictates of this preserving principle, he was eminently favoured in his ministry with divine power, and a convincing influence, reaching to the consciences of his auditory, and awakening many to a clear sight of the internal state of their minds; of their misery under the bondage of sin, and to ardent desires after redemption and sanctification. By the same divine principle he was so preserved in circumspection of life as to confirm his doctrine by his example, shewing forth the fruits of the spirit out of a good conversation; exemplary in godliness, humility, and every christian virtue; and instrumental, by divine grace, in turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God. During the space of three years, he continued

CHAP. continued in near unity with his friends, and in just
 IX. estimation amongst them, for his works sake.
 1656. In the latter end of 1654, or beginning of 1655;
 Comes to London. he came to London, where he found a meeting
 of his friends already gathered, through the ef-
 fectual ministry of Edward Burrough and Francis
 Howgill. Among them he preached in a man-
 ner so nervous and affecting, that he thereby
 captivated the affections of several of the more
 superficial and unexperienced part of the audi-
 tory, so as to hold his person in admiration, and
 to prefer him much above his fellow-labourers,
 which was injurious to him, and tended to in-
 troduce divisions, like those the Apostle Paul
 reproves in the church of Corinth, when the
carnal walkers as men were disposed to pay that
 veneration to the respective Apostles, which be-
 longed only to Christ, and to separate into par-
 ties. Of these were some forward seniles of
 weak intellects, strong passions, and flighty ima-
 ginations, who carried their impertinence so far
 as to oppose F. Howgill and E. Burrough, men
 of great worth; openly in their ministry, to the
 great disturbance of the meetings. ^a For which
 disorderly behaviour, meeting with merited re-
 proof from these judicious and discerning men;
 who clearly perceived the tendency of these per-
 nicious proceedings, they could not bear the
 rebuke with any patience; but one Martha Sim-
 mons, with another woman, carried their com-
 plaints to James Naylor, flattering themselves,
 that as they were endeavouring to make him the
 head of a party, he would not hesitate to give
 his opinion in their favour, but herein their hope
 deceived them; for his judgment being as yet
 found

Martha
 Simmons
 complains
 to J. Naylor.

found and unclouded, he thought it his duty to discourage their insinuations or complaints, as tending to sow discord between brethren. Her unexpected disappointment proving a trial too severe for this Martha's impatient spirit to sustain with any degree of moderation, she immediately vented her passion in doleful exclamation, lamentation and weeping; these passionate expressions of sorrow moved Naylor's commiseration, and left an impression on his mind, which resulted into a deep melancholy, under the effect whereof he became darkened and bewildered in his understanding and judgment; estranged from his best and most judicious friends, who were concerned to admonish him of his danger; and open to the pernicious flatteries and intoxicating praise of these unsettled spirits, which in his better days he would have heard with abhorrence and rebuke; by which means he gradually lost the brightness, beauty and humility, which formerly adorned his ministry and his conversation; became exalted above his sphere, and lifted up in spiritual pride to a lamentable degree. From London travelling westward to visit G. Fox in Launceston, he was in the summer of 1656, one of those before related to have been committed to Exeter jail, where he was a prisoner at the time of G. Fox's release, * who upon the

C H A P.
IX.

1656.

At this re-
justified.

But afterwards her passionate sorrow makes an impression to the darkening his understanding.

* From thence we came through the countries to Exeter, where many friends were in prison, and among the rest James Naylor. For a little before the time that we were set at liberty James run out into imaginations, and a company with him; and they raised up a great darkness in the nation. And he came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there: and from thence he came to Launceston to see me, but was stoppt by the way and imprisoned at Exeter. That night that we came to Exeter, I spake with James Naylor; for I saw he was out, and

C H A P. the night of his arrival at that city visited his friends in prison there, and James Naylor in particular, to admonish him of the delusion and danger he and his partisans were fallen into; being impressed with a sorrowful sense of their error: but James being covered with darkness, and exalted in his imagination, slighted this admonition: for his ranting adherents set no bounds to the madness of their enormities; they proceeded from bad to worse; from wildness to an excess of frenzy: in their letters to him, at this time, they addressed him with appellations not fit to be attributed to any mortal man, diametrically opposite to the avowed principles of the people called Quakers. Nor did their madness stop here, for three of these silly women, in this prison, kneeled before him, and kissed his feet: after his release, riding into Bristol, one Thomas Woodcock went before him bareheaded, a woman led his horse; and the three women before mentioned spread their handkerchiefs and scarfs before him, singing

IX,
1656.
Reproved
by G. Fox,
but slighted
his admonition.

and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being the first day of the week, we went to the prison, to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Naylor and some of them could not stay the meeting. The next day I spake to James Naylor again, and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me; but I said, "since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his shew of kindness;" so the Lord moved me to slight him, and set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen up amongst friends to war against. And when he came to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. G. Fox's journal, octavo, vol. I. p. 374.

ing in imitation of the Hosanna before our Saviour riding into Jerusalem. Here they were taken up, and carried before the magistrates, by whom being examined, they were committed to prison. Upon search, some of those foolish and extravagant letters of his followers were found in his possession, with others of a very different strain from his former friends, reproving him for his instability and self-exaltation; the former were divulged to aggravate his offence, the latter not answering any purpose of his *prosecutors* seem to have been suppressed. Not long after he was transmitted to London to be examined by the parliament, who judged these senseless enormities of a few deluded individuals, little affecting the publick good, or the nation's safety, of sufficient consequence to engage their attention for ten days. Debates ran high, many of the members being very averse to the severity of the measures taken against him; but the majority (to whom J. Naylor's zeal in his writings and discourses, reprehending self-righteousness and pretences to religion, deformed by immorality in life and conversation) had given offence, actuated by vindictive motives, to gratify private hatred under the colour of publick justice, on the 17th of December passed the following dreadful sentence upon him †.

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1656.

Taken up
at Bristol
and com-
mitted to
prison.Sent to the
parliament.

“ That

† The trial of J. Naylor was published; but the extravagancy of the sentence passed upon him, with other circumstances, give great reason to suspect the account was partially taken, and published to justify the cruelty thereof; some of his answers were innocent enough, some not clear; and some wrested and aggravated by his adversaries; and it is remarkable, that upon his appearing before the parliament, he was ordered not only to uncover his head, but also to kneel before them, when one of the heaviest charges against him was that

he

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IX.

1656.

His sen-
tence.

Reflections
on the sen-
tence.

“That James Naylor be set on the pillory,
“with his head in the pillory, in the palace-yard
“Westminster, during the space of two hours on
“Thursday next, and be whipped by the hang-
“man through the streets from Westminster to
“the Old Exchange, London, and there like-
“wise be set on the pillory, with his head in the
“pillory, for the space of two hours, between
“the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next;
“in each place wearing a paper containing an
“inscription of his crimes, and that at the Old
“Exchange his tongue be bored through with
“an hot iron, and that he be there also stig-
“matized in the forehead with the letter B;
“and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and
“be conveyed into and through the said city
“on horseback, with his face backward, and
“there also publickly whipped the next market
“day after he comes thither; and that from
“thence he be committed to prison, in Bride-
“well, London, and there restrained from the
“society of all people, and there to labour
“hard, till he shall be released by parliament;
“and during that time he be debarr’d the use of
“pen, ink and paper, and shall have no relief
“but what he earns by his daily labour.”
The prosecutions and punishments of the Star-
chamber in the last reign, as being exorbitant
and unreasonably barbarous, excited general dis-
gust and indignation; and the tyrannical pro-
ceedings he barely suffered some to kneel to him, for it doth not appear
that he required or expected any such thing: when the
Speaker Widderington was going to pronounce the sentence,
J. Naylor said *he did not know his offence*. To which the Speaker
replied, *he should know his offence by his punishment*. After
the sentence, he seemed desirous to have spoken something, but
was refused the liberty: he then just express’d himself with a
composed mind, *I pray God, he may not lay it to your charge*.

ceedings thereof occasioned an almost universal outcry, particularly amongst the puritans, and with very good reason; upon which account, when they found themselves the majority in the long parliament, they justly abolished this court, as an intolerable grievance. But here we find a fresh occasion to remark upon the inconsistency of these puritans of the independent class, of whom, I imagine, the majority of this parliament was composed, for it was this party Oliver principally trusted and employed. The sentence passed on this unhappy man, is for the greater part almost a copy of that by the afore said infamous court passed upon * Leighton for his book called, *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*. And the poignant censure of a late historian, on the latter, may with little impropriety be applied to the other also. "Notwithstanding all that may be said against the conduct of this unfortunate enthusiast, his offence was by no means adequate to his punishment; his treatment and prosecution notoriously inhuman and illegal. The judgment passed against him was by an illegal court, † whose jurisdiction was unconstitutional;—was directly contrary to the humane spirit of the British laws; and the single instance of such an execrable barbarity would have disgraced the government of an absolute monarch." "Many people" (not of the society of Quakers) esteeming the sentence passed upon Naylor excessive, petitioned for his pardon.

C H A P.
IX,
1656.

Macaulay.

Macaulay.

Petitions in
his favour.

For a comparative view of the similarity of the two sentences, see that passed upon Leighton in the above quoted author, viz. Macaulay, vol. II. p. 93.

† The House of Commons by the constitution is no court of judicature, nor hath any power to inflict any other punishment than imprisonment during their session.

^h Sewel.

CHAP. orbitantly severe, for a crime proceeding more
 from a disordered understanding than a malignant intention, actuated by the feelings of compassion for the man, of which his judges appeared divested, solicited the parliament with petitions in his favour, but to no purpose: for after the sentence was passed, the Speaker was authorized to issue his warrants to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the sheriff of Bristol, and the keeper of Bridewell, to see the judgment put in execution².

IX
 1656.
 Execution
 of the first
 part of his
 sentence.

And the very next day, viz. on the 18th of December, the first part was severely executed; after standing two hours in the pillory, he was stripped, and tortured with a most cruel whipping from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, receiving three hundred and ten stripes; so that according to the testimony of Rebecca Travers, a woman of indisputable veracity, who washed his wounds; in a certificate presented to the parliament, and afterwards printed, "There was not the space of a man's nail free from stripes" and blood from his shoulders down to near his waist, his right arm sorely striped, and his hands so hurt with the cords, wherewith he was tied, that they bled, and were greatly swelled." This cruel torture Naylor endured with patience and quietude to the astonishment of the spectators. The 20th of the same month was the day appointed for the execution of the second part of his sentence; but he was reduced to such a state of weakness by the severe execution of the first part, that many persons of note, compassionating his condition, interposed in his favour by petition to the parliament, and obtained

obtained a respite of one week, during which interval a second petition was presented in the following terms. C H A P.
IX.

“ Your moderation and clemency in respiting
 “ the punishment of James Naylor, in consider-
 “ ation of his illness of body, hath refreshed the
 “ hearts of many thousands in these cities, al-
 “ together unconcerned in his practice: where-
 “ fore we most humbly beg your pardon, that
 “ are constrained to appear before you in such a
 “ suit (not daring to do otherwise) that you
 “ would remit the remaining part of your sen-
 “ tence against the said J. Naylor, leaving him
 “ to the Lord, and to such gospel remedies, as
 “ he hath sanctified; and we are persuaded you
 “ will find such a course of love and forbearance
 “ more effectual to reclaim, and will leave a
 “ zeal of your love and tenderness upon our
 “ spirits. 1656.
Second pe-
tition.

“ And we shall pray, &c.”

This petition, replete with good sense and humanity, was presented to the house by about an hundred persons on behalf of the subscribers, but the same vindictive temper, which had dictated the sentence, resisting all solicitation for mitigating it, obliged these petitioners to endeavour, by an address to the Protector, to obtain from him that favour, they could not obtain from the parliament; whereupon he wrote a letter to the house, which occasioned some debate, but no resolution in favour of the prisoner. Finding their interposition hitherto ineffectual, the petitioners presented a second address to the Protector; but, it is said, the publick preachers, by their influence, prevented its effect. How-
Rejected.

C H A P. of persons unconnected with the offender in re-
 IX. ligious community, conveyed a plain indication
 1656. to his adversaries, that their severity was not ge-
 J. Naylor nerally well relished. Wherefore five of the
 visited by noted publick preachers, *Caryl, Nye, Manton,*
 five preach- *Griffith* and *Reynolds*, by order of the parliament,
 ers. (as it was said) visited J. Naylor in prison to treat
 with him concerning those offences for which
 he was detained, and bring him to a sense there-
 of, as if to varnish over the deformity of their
 proceedings with a colour of intending only the
 reformation of the man, by an *heterogeneous* mix-
 ture of ghostly counsel with corporal punish-
 ment, and inhuman severity with some semblance
 of christian charity; but this amiable virtue had
 little place in their publick or private transactions
 with him: for these men would admit no friend
 of his nor any other person into the room, al-
 though requested, upon which Naylor insisted
 that what passed should be put in writing, and a
 copy left with him or the jailer, to which, in
 order to draw such answers from him as they
 wanted, they consented. The reason of his
 making this demand, was an apprehension he
 had of an insidious design, as they would suffer
 no impartial person to be present at the con-
 ference to testify the truth if requisite, and the
 result seems to manifest his fears not groundless,
 for after some discourse, perceiving they were
 endeavouring to wrest words from him, to per-
 vert to his crimination, in order to furnish some
 colour of justification to the publick, he remark-
 ed to them, " They had soon forgot the work
 " of the bishops, who were now treading the
 " same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent."
 Whereupon they rose up in a rage, burned what
 they

they had written, and left him to undergo every jot and tittle of his unmerciful sentence. CHAP.
IX.

At the expiration of his respite, on the 27th of December, the second part of his sentence was executed upon him.^a There was one Robert Rich, a zealous partisan of his, who mounting the pillory with him, held him by the hand, while he was branded in the forehead, and bored through the tongue, who being much affected with his sufferings, licked his wounds in order to allay the pain. The spectators, who were very numerous, behaved with decency and quietness, without reviling or throwing any thing at him, seeming generally affected with commiseration and regret at his unchristian treatment. He was afterwards sent to Bristol^m, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge up High-street and to the middle of Broad-street, all which he bore with astonishing patience, according to the testimony of an eye witness; thence he was sent the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, pursuant to his sentence, and was there detained a prisoner about two years: During his confinement he was favoured with a clear sight of his lamentable fall, and sincere repentance on account thereof, and after his release he published his recantation, the following extracts from which evince that he not only repented of his transgression, but through the divine mercy was again restored to a lively feeling sense of true religion, whereby he recovered his unity with his friends, and continued therein to the end of his days.

“ Condemned for ever be all those false wor- J Naylor’s
“ ships °, with which any have idolized my per- recantation.

Q 2

“ son

^a Sewel, p. 143.

^m Ibid.

^o Ibid.

C H A P.

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1656.

son in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above; all their casting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions, which did any ways tend to dishonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh, which is as grass, or to ascribe to the visible that which belongs to Christ Jesus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blasphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the spirits grieved, that truly loved the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever. This offence I confess, which hath been sorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's happiness in Christ should get this advantage in the night of my trial, to stir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the simplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endless love hath given me power over it, to condemn it; and also that letter which was sent me to Exeter by John Stringer, when I was in prison, with these words: Thy name shall be no more James Naylor, but Jesus. This I judge to be written from the imaginations, and a fear struck me when I first saw it, and so I put it in my pocket close, not intending any should see it; which they finding on me, spread it abroad, which the simplicity of my heart never owned. So this I deny also, that the name of Christ Jesus was received instead of James Naylor, for that name is to the seed to all generations, and he that hath the son, hath the name, which is life and power, the salvation

tion and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized.

“ And all those ranting wild spirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkness; and all their wild actions and wicked words against the honour of God, and his pure spirit and people; I deny that bad spirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly, having formerly had power over that spirit, in judgment and discerning, wherever it was; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness, and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night, where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all mercies had not rescued me, I had perished, for I was as one appointed to death and destruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his spirit was daily provoked and grieved, but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day. Yet were there many things formed against me in that day, to take away my life, and bring scandal on the truth, of which I am not guilty

“ at

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1656,

“ at all ; as that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women, who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol, the night before I suffered there ; of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day, both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a child, God is my record, And this I mention in particular (hearing of some who still cease not to reproach there with God’s truth and people) that the mouth of enmity might be shut from evil speaking, though this toucheth not my conscience.”

Sundry other papers which he published during his imprisonment, and after, confirm the sincerity of his repentance ; and so deeply was the humbling sense of his fall imprest on his mind, that during the remainder of his life he was a man of great self-denial, and very diffident and jealous of himself. At last, taking his departure from the city of London in the fall of 1660, in order to go home to his wife and family at Wakefield, he travelled on foot as far as Huntingdon, and was observed by a friend as he passed through the town in such an awful, solemn frame, as bespoke him a man redeemed from the earth, seeking a better country and inheritance. He went not many miles from Huntingdon before he was taken ill, being reported to have been robbed and left bound^p ; and being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, he was removed to a friend’s house at Holm, not far from King’s Rippon, where he was attended by Thomas Parnell, a physician of said town, and not long after

Taken ill,
and dies.

after departed this life in peace, about the ninth month (November), 1660, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The following expressions, uttered by him about two hours before his departure, evidence the peaceful and even tenor of his mind at that solemn period.

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1656.

“ There is a spirit which I feel, that delights
 “ to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but
 “ delights to endure all things, in hopes to enjoy
 “ its own to the end : Its hope is to outlive all
 “ wrath and contention, and to weary out all
 “ exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a
 “ nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of
 “ all temptation : As it bears no evil in itself, so
 “ it conceives none in thought to any other : If
 “ it be betrayed it bears it ; for its ground and
 “ spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God :
 “ Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting
 “ love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with
 “ entreaty and not with contention, and keeps
 “ it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can
 “ rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own
 “ its life : It is conceived in sorrow, and brought
 “ forth without any to pity it ; nor doth it mur-
 “ mur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth
 “ but through sufferings, for with the world’s
 “ joy it is murdered : I found it alone being
 “ forsaken ; I have fellowship therein with them
 “ who lived in dens and desolate places in the
 “ earth, who through death obtained this resur-
 “ rection and eternal holy life,”

His dying
expressions.

There seems to be a pride and malignity in
 human nature while unreformed by religion,
 diametrically opposite to christian charity, which,
 unconscious of sublime virtue in itself, and aim-
 ing to depress the rest of mankind below its own
 level,

Reflection.

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level, delights to dwell on the dark side of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a suspicious shade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumstances of their defects, and this malevolent disposition receives new force from the spirit of party, which peculiarly characterized this age, and raged with unabated violence against the Quakers. So in this poor man's case, and that of the society with which he had been connected, his failings were not only greatly exaggerated, but crimes imputed to him of which he appears entirely innocent; his enormities are overlooked by few who have given an account of him, his *repentance by most: That he was a Quaker (so called) is carefully preserved from oblivion; that his extravagant conduct was disapproved by the Quakers mostly passed over unnoticed. The fall of one man in the hour of temptation, or the infirmity of another, recorded as a picture of Quakerism, without any regard to the far greater number of those people, who evidenced the virtue and efficacy of the divine principle of light and grace they bore testimony to, by an undeviating observance of every christian and moral virtue in their lives; and the solidity of their religion, and the purity of their consciences, by the divine support they felt, bearing up their spirits at the approach of the awful hour of death.

While

* There is a passage in a book, entitled, *A Complete History of England*, vol. iii. p. 201, which asserts that *James Naylor died with no fruits, nor as much as signs of repentance*: How the author came by such information we cannot tell; but that it is a manifest mistake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time convinced.

While some, to involve the body of the Quakers at large in the reproach of James Naylor's extravagancies, have passed over in silence their general disapprobation thereof; others, on the contrary, because Rich and a few more wrongheaded forward people took part with him throughout, with pleasure observed, as they were willing to persuade themselves *, ^a the symptoms of

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* Sewel, p. 143.

* Mosheim, who omits no occasion of depreciating this people, discovers his accustomed partiality and unfriendly bias, in his ill-natured description of these imputed divisions. "Even during the life of their founder (says he) the Quakers, notwithstanding their extraordinary pretensions to fraternal charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. These debates, indeed, which were carried on in 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty." The dividing into parties, he mentions, in 1656, was no more than what is here represented, which how far it falls short of his exaggerated description is referred to the judgment of the dispassionate reader. It gave no interruption, that I can discover, to the general subsistence of that fraternal charity and union at this time remarkable amongst the members of this society, not in pretension but in reality, being demonstrated by facts, which are more indisputable evidence than uncandid insinuations or assertions. What else but true brotherly affection, the essence of charity, could induce them to come from the remotest parts of the nation to visit and administer to their imprisoned friends? What else bring them on foot from the extremity of the North to London to solicit the protection and commiseration of government in their favour? We have seen in more instances than one, some of these people offering up their bodies to lie in prison, if thereby they might release a friend, whose life or health was endangered by the hardships of imprisonment; we see these offices of brotherly kindness still continue, and shall find them again hereafter. Are these extraordinary *pretensions*? Are they not rather extraordinary *instances* of fraternal charity and union, to which the silly conduct of a very few

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1656.

of dissention and divisions among the members of this society from whence their sanguine wishes led them to prophesy the speedy dissolution thereof; but such diviners found themselves mistaken in their conjectures and disappointed in their wishes, on this as well as former occasions; for the imprudence of a very small number of the most unsteady and insignificant members occasioned no division, properly speaking, none of consequence or long duration. George Fox, coming up from Exeter, after his release from Launceston jail, by Bristol (where he had large meetings to good effect) to London about this time, ever vigilant to guard the people he had been made instrumental to gather into a separate society, against every danger, whereby they might sustain harm, writ them a short caution on this occasion, to beware of that disposition which hath a life in strife and contention; to forbear mutual aggravation, which breeds confusion, but to let their moderation, temperance and patience appear to all men, that they might enter into peace and covenant with their Creator, and preserve their fellowship one with another: his care was exercised towards all, the weak especially, to whom I apprehend this caution was addressed, for except a very few weak members the body at large took no part with James Naylor*.

This

few misguided individuals gave no interruption. This author, in conclusion, seems to refute his preceding description by an inexplicable inconsistency. "These debates which were carried on with peculiar warmth—were terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty."

* Upon Robert Barclay's opponent saying, "one thing I would ask, what he, Robert Barclay, thinketh of that honour
"and

This year died John Camm of Camm's-gill, in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, a man blessed with religious inclinations from his childhood, which gathered strength as he approached the state of maturity, whereby he was incited in a sincere enquiry after true religion, and the most certain way to salvation, to separate himself from the national worship of that time, and associate with several others, who from a similarity of impression and pursuit, formed a select assembly at Firbank chapel and other places, amongst whom he sometimes officiated as a minister.

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Account
of John
Camm.Convinced
at Firbank
chapel.

"and worship that was given to James Naylor, as he rode into Bristol, October 24th, 1656."

Robert Barclay answers, "I think it was both wicked and abominable, and so do the people called Quakers, who thereupon disowned him, and all those that had an hand in it, as by the several letters found written to him and other papers, if need were, I could at large prove; but it sufficeth to inform the reader of this, that he was denied by that people, and not any ways owned by them until several years afterwards, that he testified his full repentance for that thing in a publick assembly with many tears, signifying the same also under his hand, which was also printed."

Robert Barclay's works, page 876.

James Naylor himself gives the following account: After I was put into the hole at bridewell, I heard of many wild actions done by a sort of people who pretended that they owned me; and these were earnestly stirred up at that day with much violence and many unseemly actions, to go into the meetings of the people of the Lord, called Quakers, on purpose to hinder their peaceable meetings, and yet would take that holy and pure name of God and Christ frequently in their mouths, whereby the name of the Lord was much dishonoured and his pure spirit grieved, and much disorder they caused in many places of the nation, to the dishonour of Christ Jesus, for which I feel wrath from God; which when I understood that they had any strength through me, I used all means I could to declare against that evil spirit, which under the name of God and Christ, was against God and Christ, his truth and people.

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1656.

nister. Here it was that he, with the greater part of that congregation in the notable meeting which George Fox had there in 1652, by his effectual ministry, was happily prevailed with to turn the attention of his mind more closely to the measure and manifestation of the spirit, which he recommended, as a certain guide from darkness to light; in obedience whereunto he was made willing to take up the cross to the glory and friendship of this world, in endeavours to secure an everlasting inheritance in that which is to come. And abiding in patience the refining operation of this sanctifying grace, he was fully prepared for the reception of the gifts of the spirit, and had a share in the ministry committed to him, more formed to reach the heart than please the ear, being weighty and deep, conveying awakening reproof to the libertine, the hypocrite, and such as disgraced the profession of truth by a disorderly conversation. In his moral conduct very circumspect, exemplifying the doctrine he taught by the example he set. In the capacity of a parent he conscientiously discharged his duty in a religious care over his children and family.

He was amongst the first of these preachers who travelled into different parts of the nation to propagate the Gospel, according to the principles of the people called Quakers, in which service he was careful not to make the gospel chargeable, having an estate of his own. His first journey was through the northern counties to the borders of Scotland; his next, in company with Francis Howgill, to visit Oliver Cromwell, protector, on behalf of their brethren under persecution. Afterwards he travelled in company with Ed. Burrough, through the middle

In company
with Francis
Howgill
pay a visit
to Oliver
Cromwell.

dle of the nation to London, where they met with their countrymen John Audland, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberthorn, and others from other parts : From thence John Audland and he became fellow-travellers to Bristol, where their united powerful ministry was effectual to the convincement and reformation of many hundreds, as before related in its place. But the fatigue and exercise of his travels and labour proved too great for his bodily ability to sustain without feeling the natural effects thereof, for his constitution, naturally weak, was hereby reduced into a gradual decline ; and as he drew near the termination of his well spent life, supported by the testimony of an approving heart, he viewed the awful scene without dismay. His indisposition being sanctified to him by that word that sanctified his soul, he was filled with a thankful sense of divine goodness, under the impression whereof he thus expressed his lively hope : “ How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond
 “ many, who have such a large time of preparation for death, being daily dying that I
 “ may live for ever with my God in that kingdom which is unspeakably full of glory. My
 “ outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards his place and center ; but my inward man revives, and mounts
 “ upwards towards its place and habitation in
 “ heaven.”

The morning he departed this life he called his wife, children and family, to whom he imparted solid instruction, to love and serve the Lord, and to walk circumspectly in his fear, adding, that “ his glass was run ; the time of
 “ his departure was come ; he was to enter
 “ into everlasting joy and rest ;” charging them
 all

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1656.

Joins John
Audland as
his companion.

CHAP. all "to be patient and content in his removal;"
 IX. presently after fainting, he seemed to pass quietly away, as falling into an easy sleep, whereupon some about him, weeping aloud, as one awakened out of sleep, he expressed himself again in these words: "My dear hearts, you
 1656. "have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was
 "at sweet rest: You should not so passionately
 "sorrow for my departure: This house of clay
 "must go to its place, but this soul and spirit
 "is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with
 "him for ever, where we shall meet with everlasting joy." So again taking his leave of them, and repeating his charge, he lay down, and in a little time departed this life, in the fifty-second year of his age.

C H A P. X.

George Fox applies to Oliver Cromwell to stop Persecution.—Edward Burrough writes to him on the same Subject.—Attempt to make Cromwell King.—Articles relating to Religion.—Remarks.—The excluded Members admitted into Parliament, which is soon after dissolved.—Fruitless Applications for Relief from Persecution.—Edward Burrough's Proposal to vindicate the Doctrines of the People called Quakers rejected.

CHAP. X. GEORGE Fox, near London, seeing a concourse of people, found they were gathered to
 1656. see the protector passing by; and as the persecution

cution of his friends continued unabated, he rode up to the coach side to speak with him thereupon, continuing in discourse with him on the subject till they came to James's park gate, and at parting, Cromwell desired him to come to him at Whitehall: He accordingly went thither, accompanied by Edward Pyott, where they opened the subject more fully, acquainting him with the sufferings of their brethren, and remonstrating against persecution, as entirely inconsistent with Christianity, and a manifest deviation from the example of Christ and his apostles, who suffered persecution, but never persecuted any^a.

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X.

1656.

G. Fox applies to O. Cromwell to stop the persecution.

About the same time Edward Burrough also, finding his former applications ineffectual, resumed his pen and wrote several epistles to Oliver on the same subject, with his usual plainness. The following extracts whereof give us a specimen of the honest simplicity and undisguised plain dealing which these men used in their applications for redress, not (as falsely represented) in contempt of authority, but in conformity to the dictates of their consciences, which taught them to decline every appearance of flattery and refinement in their addresses to the greatest, as apprehending these things inconsistent with the simplicity and godly sincerity recommended in the gospel: These extracts also exhibiting a lively description of the sufferings which this people at that time endured, are a confirmation of the narrative thereof, comprized in the preceding pages^b.

1657.

Ed. Burrough writes him on the same subject.

After reminding the Protector of the obligation he was under to the supreme being for his providential

^a Sewel, p. 161.

^b Ibid. p. 163.

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X.

1657.

providential favours, both in prospering his undertakings and preserving him from the plots and treacherous designs of his enemies, he proceeds : “ In that day when thou wast raised up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou wast but little in thine own eyes, it was well with thee, and the Lord blessed thee ; and it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been strengthened against the righteous under thee, or that such grievous and cruel burdens and oppressions would ever have been laid upon the just, and acted against them in thy name and under thy dominion, as unrighteously have come to pass in these three years. Many are unjustly and woefully sufferers, because they cannot swear, though in all cases they speak the truth, and obey Christ’s commands ; such are punished by unjust fines imposed upon them, and this by the corruptness of some that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but invert the sword of justice. Some suffer long and tedious imprisonments, and others cruel stripes and abuses, and danger of life many times from wicked men, for reproving sin and crying against the abominations of the times (which the scriptures testify against) in streets and other places. Some have been taken up on the highway, sent to prison, and no crime charged against them ; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, whipped, and sent to prison, without transgressing any law, just or unjust, through the rage and envy of such who have perverted judgment and justice ; and some in
 “ prison

" prison have suffered superabundantly from
 " the hands of the cruel jailers and their ser-
 " vants, by beatings and threatenings, and
 " putting irons on them, and not suffering
 " any of their friends to visit them with neces-
 " saries; and some have died in the prisons,
 " whose lives were not dear to them, whose
 " blood will be reckoned on account against
 " thee in one day. Some have suffered hard
 " cruelties, because they could not respect per-
 " sons, and bow with hat or knee; and from
 " these cruelties thou canst not altogether be
 " excused in the sight of God, being inflicted
 " in thy name and under thy power."

 H A P.
 X.

1657.

A copy of the letter from which this extract
 was taken was delivered into Oliver Cromwell's
 own hands; but not producing the desired effect,
 he soon after waited upon him in person, to
 procure a conference with him upon the subject,
 in the course of which Cromwell told him in
 effect that all persecution and cruelty were against
 his mind, and that he was not guilty of those
 persecutions carried on unjustly against Bur-
 rough's friends. The futility of this excuse, too
 apparent to escape Burrough's penetration, drew
 from him the following remonstrance: " Con-
 sider what is the cause, that what thou desirest
 not to be done is yet done: Is it not that
 thou mayest please men? that thou mayest do
 the false teachers of this nation and wicked
 men a pleasure: Thou knowest of some in
 this city and elsewhere, whom we know to be
 just men, who suffer imprisonment and the
 loss of their liberty, because for conscience
 sake they cannot swear; and many others in

R.

" this

CHAP.

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“ this nation suffering cruel treatment even for
 “ well-doing, and not for evil, which oppression
 “ might be put a stop to, and their unjust suf-
 “ ferings relieved by thee, by a word of thy
 “ mouth or pen, shewing thy dislike of these
 “ cruel persecutions; but there seems in thee
 “ rather a favouring of them, by connivance at
 “ the actors of cruelty, to the strengthening of
 “ their hands, than any dislike shewn by thee;
 “ in bearing witness, as thou oughtest to do,
 “ against them; and this makes that thou canst
 “ not be clear in the sight of God in these
 “ things, because not helped by thee, when thou
 “ hast power to help them.”

Attempts
 to make
 Cromwell
 king.

These honest remonstrances met the like reception with former applications; they were received without apparent resentment, and persecutions carried on without redress. Cromwell's attention about this period was engrossed by a subject much nearer his heart than redressing the grievances of this society. The supple parliament now sitting, entirely devoted to his humour and to his interest, had complimented him with the offer of the crown and the title of king; and although it is thought to have been in consequence of his own management, and his ambition prompted him to accept the offer, yet finding his nearest friends and most powerful partisans, together with the body of the army, averse to the measure, deterred by the prospect of the danger attending this advancement, after some perplexity and hesitation, he finally determined to reject the proffered crown.

The parliament upon this confirmed to him his dignity of protector, with an addition of more power, in some instances, than had been annexed to it by the council of officers, by a
 solemn

solemn act, entitled “The humble petition and
 “advice,” which after investing him with power
 to name his successor, to convoke a yearly par-
 liament composed of two houses, and settling
 his revenue, concluded with the following arti-
 cles relating to religion :

H A P.
 X.

1657.

“That his highness would encourage a godly
 “ministry in these nations; and that such as
 “do revile and disturb them in the worship of
 “God, may be punished according to law, and
 “where laws are defective, new ones to be
 “made: That the protestant christian religion,
 “as it is contained in the Old and New Testa-
 “ment, be asserted and held forth for the pub-
 “lic profession of these nations, and no other;
 “and that a confession of faith be agreed upon
 “and recommended to the people of these na-
 “tions; and none to be permitted by word or
 “writing to revile or reproach the said confes-
 “sion of faith ^d.”

Articles re-
 lating to re-
 ligion.

These articles seem to betray little liberality of
 sentiment concerning religious or civil liberty,
 and whether they originated from Cromwell him-
 self or the parliament, give us a specimen of the
 change of principles effected in men by the pos-
 session of power, according to the concurrent
 accounts historians have given us of the inde-
 pendents and their principles: “The fanaticism
 “of the independents abolished all ecclesiastical
 “government, disdained all creeds and systems,
 “and rejected every ceremony. Of all christian
 “sects this was the first, which, during its prospe-
 “rity as well as its adversity, always adopted the
 “principle of toleration; and it is remarkable
 “that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin,
 “not to reasoning, but to the height of extra-
 “vagance and fanaticism ^h.”

Remarks.

R 2

“The

^a Rapin.

^h Hume.

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“ The doctrine of toleration, in these enlightened ages, adopted by the liberal of almost all persuasions, owed its origin to the independents, whose declared aversion to persecution and church tyranny was too opposite to the bigotry and views of the presbyterians not to be productive of high contest and animosity. Whilst the presbyterians exclaimed that toleration was but an indulgence for soul-murder, &c., the independents, from the authority of the gospel and the dictates of reason, argued that every man had a right to direct his religious conscience, and interpret the scriptures according to his own lights and apprehensions ; that the doctrine of intolerance would equally justify all religious persecutions, pagans against christians, papists against protestants, with that which had been so lately endured from the power of the episcopacy; and that the presbyterians, by preaching up the doctrine of obedience in spiritual matters to established powers, passed a self-condemnation on their own opposition to former tyrannies.”

These sentiments are laudable, and the reasoning upon them just ; but I think the first quoted author hath gone too far in asserting, that they always adopted the principle of toleration in prosperity as well as adversity, except we understand it as a mere speculative truth, for that they always adopted it in practice, matters of fact will not support the assertion. And if their former principles are justly described by the fore-cited authors, it appears evidently, from the foregoing articles, that their *principles were changed with the times*. The first seems to be aimed directly at the Quakers, and the proposal of

of making new penal laws against them bears C H A P. X.
 little marks of a tolerating spirit; the second is
 expressed in terms of remarkable ambiguity,
 yet from this and the next we may gather thus
 much, that if formerly they disdained all creeds
 and systems, they had now altered their senti-
 ments; since they propose the formation of a
 system for the profession of the nation, exclusive
 of all others, and a * confession of faith so fa-
 credly inviolable, that both the freedom of speech
 and the liberty of the press were to be violated
 in its favour.

1657.

I would not be understood by these occasional
 remarks to tax the whole body of the independ-
 ents with this inconsistency of conduct; but those
 only, who in contradiction to their former pro-
 fessions, when invested with power, perverted
 it to the persecution of such as dissented from
 them, and those who fomented the persecution.
 There were doubtless very many, more sincere
 in their profession, and more uniform in their
 conduct, who were so far from promoting, that
 they

* Soon after this a confession of faith, drawn up by se-
 veral of the teachers at the Savoy, was published; and
 George Fox having previously procured a copy of it, not-
 withstanding the parliamentary prohibition, he animadverted
 upon it with freedom, and published his remarks about the
 same time, the Church Faith, as they termed it, was published,
 which incensed some of the members to that degree, that one
 of them threatened him, " That they must have him to
 " Smithfield." To which menace he replied, he was over
 their fires and feared them not, wishing him to consider
 whether all people had been without a faith this one thousand
 six hundred years, that the priests must now make them one;
 that as Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles faith,
 of that of the primitive church and of the martyrs, should
 not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher of
 their faith, and not unto the priests?

CHAP. X. they secretly condemned these unnecessary severities, as hath been noticed in James Naylor's case and others. I wish the reader to apply this distinction to my future observations on this body of men, as I shall be under a necessity, in the sequel, to lay open still more exorbitant severities, practised by arbitrary magistrates, who were instigated by vindictive teachers of this denomination, against the people called Quakers.

1657.

After all, we need not perhaps admire that the measures of this parliament were not favourable to liberty: Men who had given themselves up to act by the nod or direction of another, having resigned their own liberty, were not likely to have a tender regard for the liberties of other men.

1658.

Excluded members re-admitted, whereupon the parliament is dissolved.

In the next session of this parliament, in pursuance of an article in the aforementioned instrument of government, the members who had been excluded by Oliver's council were admitted to take their seats in the house, which seems to have produced a majority less favourable to his views, and less pliant to his will than that of the former sessions; and their proceedings displeasing him, he soon put a stop thereto by dissolving them^m.

Remark.

When we view this parliament, so much devoted to the Protector, and acting principally under his immediate influence, enacting laws so unfavourable to liberty, we can hardly exculpate him from encouraging, at least by connivance, these persecuting acts and severe proceedings, even while he declared himself against persecution, and disavowed the guilt of those carried on against the Quakers.

After the dissolution of the parliament, different applications, by personal interviews and by letters, were made to the Protector by divers of this people in favour of their persecuted brethren, laying before him a full narrative of their grievances, which, when he not only pleaded ignorance of, but pretended not to believe, two of them, Thomas Aldam, and Anthony Pearson, to put the matter out of dispute, undertook the laborious task of visiting all or most of the jails in England, to prove by authentic documents the truth of their representations; which having done, by procuring copies of their friends commitments under the hands of the respective jailers, they laid the same before Oliver Cromwell; but now, all subterfuge being taken away, he declined to comply with their request in behalf of the sufferers, which was to give order for their release. It was upon this occasion that Thomas Aldam, taking off his cap, tore it, saying, *so shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house.*

CHAP.
X.

1658.
Applications of the Quakers for relief prove ineffectual.

The public preachers at this time, both to palliate and promote persecution and rigorous measures against the Quakers, so called, took great pains to represent them as a people deluded, deceived and involved in error; and particularly to Cromwell and others in authority. For which reason Edward Burrough, in a letter to the Protector, proposed that these teachers might be directed, abstracted from general reflections, and vague accusations, to put their objections to the Quakers doctrines, and their imputed errors, in plain terms and clear propositions; and that by divine permission they should receive

Edward Burrough's proposal to vindicate the Quakers doctrine, rejected.

CHAP. receive a suitable answer, concluding his letter
 X. to the following purport; " We are willing to
 1658. " be made manifest to all men, and that our
 " principles may be brought to the test of true
 " judgment; when, if any objections against
 " us cannot be answered to the satisfaction of
 " sober and unprejudiced men, our adversaries
 " will be more justified in their censures and
 " their severity against us. But if our answers
 " shall prove our principles, practices and doc-
 " trines agreeable to the scriptures, and vindi-
 " cated thereby, then let the truth be owned,
 " and no longer persecuted: Let the teachers
 " and all our adversaries refrain their contu-
 " melious aspersions, uncharitable railings against
 " us, and false accusations of us to thee: Let
 " thy ears be shut from believing lies against
 " the innocent; and let none in thy dominions
 " suffer under the cruelty of men, upon such
 " groundless pretences."

This proposal was fair and reasonable, but we have no account that it was acceded to by Oliver or his teachers: The latter found it easier to rail than to reason; and their hatred of this people impelled them to endeavour the suppressing of them by rigour, rather than convincing them by argument. Persecution continued unabated till Oliver Cromwell's death, which happened on the 3d of September this year. And being by the humble petition and advice empowered to nominate his successor, he nominated his son Richard, who was accordingly proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth.

C H A P. XI.

Applications continued to Richard Cromwell, but without Success.—Friends violently abused by the Populace.—The Nation in great Commotion.—George Fox writes a Caution.—Account of Friends Sufferings presented to the Parliament.—Remarkable Proposal of a number of Friends to the Parliament.—The Quakers so called invited to take up Arms.—George Fox cautions against it.—General Monk's Order to his Soldiers not to molest the Meetings of this People.—Account of their suffering in Property, especially for their Testimony against Tithes.—Specified in various Cases.—Remarks upon Tithes, &c.

THE same fraternal compassion for the hardships sustained by their suffering brethren, which had animated several of this community to make repeated applications to the late Protector for redress of their grievances, continued to operate, and produced similar applications to his successor. Edward Burrough in particular, who (as before related) made repeated applications to the father with much plainness of speech, was not backward, from a sense of duty, and the impulse of brotherly sympathy, to take the like liberty with his successor². Very soon after his advancement to the Protectorate, he communicated

C H A P.
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Applications continued to R. Cromwell.

² Sewel, p. 189.

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cated by letter to Richard Cromwell, a clear and concise relation of the sufferings and persecutions his friends were afflicted with, putting him in mind that the power of the magistrate, by divine ordination, was for a terror and restraint to evil-doers, and the protection and praise of all that do well. But that at that time, in this nation, it was diverted from its original purpose to the oppression of the poor, by injustice, subverting the good laws of God and man to a wrong end, abusing authority, by turning the sword against just men, and inflicting punishment on the innocent for righteousness sake.

but without success.

This remonstrance met with the same disregard as the former applications for redress. The persecution of the Quakers (so called) received no check in consequence thereof, that I can find. But, as in this interval between Cromwell's death and the restoration of Charles the second, through the ambitious struggles, and the alternate success or failure of the contending parties for the sovereignty, the nation was almost in a state of anarchy; gross abuses of the licentious rabble, instigated by the inflammatory calumnies of their priests against the Quakers (so called) were added to the severity of persecuting magistrates, who not confining themselves to the abuse of individuals, began to disturb and attack these devoted people in their public assemblies for divine worship, in a shameful and riotous manner; of which we have many instances in this and the succeeding year*.

Friends greatly abused by the populace.

Many

Lancashire.

* At a meeting near Zanchy, where Elizabeth Leavens was preaching, a rude company, headed by an elder of their church,

Many of these abuses being committed on CHAP.
the first day of the week, the day they called XI.
their 1658.

church, pulled her down and abused her much. As she and others were going home, the people fell upon them and grievously beat several

Rebecca Barnes, Elizabeth Holme and others, coming from a meeting near Ormskirk, met with David Ellifson, a priest, to whom Rebecca spake some words which displeased him; the persons who accompanied the priest fell to abusing her, while he animated them, crying out, *down with her, down with her*, which his cruel comrades effectually performed, for they beat, bruised, and struck her on the breast so cruelly, that within seven days after she died. Bessé, v. i. p. 304.

On the 7th of the month called June was a meeting at London, the house of William Mullins of Vine-street, Holborn, when one Atkins, bailiff to the Earl of Southampton, came to the window, swearing desperately that *he would quake them*; and gathered a mob, whom he heated with strong drink, until they threw dirt and stones in at the window, and shamefully abused many there assembled, he pushing his sword in at the window, and threatening to strike his dagger into the preacher's face, calling him reproachful names, and belching out all manner of evil speaking, till the meeting was ended. Bessé, v. i. p. 365.

On the 7th of the month called April, this year, was a meeting at the house of Thomas Budd, in the parish of Mar-
Somerset-shire.
1657.
tock, to which five priests came, attended by a rabble, furnished with staves, cudgels, pitchforks, and such like rustic arms. They rushed into the meeting with so much confusion and noise, that the preacher could not be heard: Their coming made it indeed a riotous assembly, which the moment before was a congregation of grave and serious christians, of sober and virtuous conversation, and some of them of considerable estates: However, the priests who brought the mob, and caused the riot, complained to the magistrates that the meeting held at Thomas Budd's was a riotous assembly, to the disturbance of the public peace; whereupon one Captain Raymond, with his soldiers, was ordered to disperse the next meeting that should be held there: Accordingly he came thither on the 23d of the month, when Thomas Salthouse was preaching, and took him, together with Thomas Budd,
into

CHAP. their sabbath, with impunity, under a govern-
 XI. ment, and by a people who pretended to make
 it

1658.

into custody, and conducting them next day to Robert Hunt, justice of the peace, they were by him and others examined and committed to prison, and indicted for a riot at the quarter sessions at Ilchester: Great endeavours were used to find them and others taken with them guilty thereof, yet their attempts were frustrated by the concurring testimonies of the witnesses produced against them; whereupon the justices tendered the oath of abjuration to Thomas Salthouse, and for refusing to take it fined him five pounds. *Besse, v. i. p. 578, 582.*

Cornwall.

1657.

On the 27th of the month called June, this year, was a meeting in the borough of Liskeard, where a multitude of rude people came in, hallooing, singing, railing, throwing dirt, stones, mire, and filthy excrements on the clothes, heads and faces of those that were met, beating some with clubs, others with their fists, and breaking a pitcher about the head of George Bewley. One wicked fellow sounded an hunting horn, and raised a cry of his hounds, to drown the voice of the preacher. They threw George Bewley and others down a steep hill on the pavement; and while they were pulling the hair off their heads, the priest, who sat smoking his pipe in a Chamber window, animated the rabble, crying, *Hold him fast, keep him in, if his brains be knocked out, he has his own seeking.* This violence continued till some of the persecuted were almost strangled and ready to faint. At length some of them being let into an house, and secured from the inferior mob (for some of the mob were men of figure, and one a magistrate of the town) the tumult began to cease. *Besse, v. i. p. 115.*

Hertford-
shire.

1658.

With much barbarity did the rabble insult this innocent people assembling at Sabridgeworth, striking them as they came thither, throwing them off their horses, and wallowing them in the mire, daubing their faces and clothes, filling their hats with dirt, and so putting them on their heads: When this cruelty could not deter them from meeting, a rude multitude surrounded the place, and assaulted them, breaking down the tiles, boards, windows and walls of the meeting-house, and throwing stones, dirt, rotten eggs, human dung and urine, that few or none of the assembly escaped unhurt: They tore their clothes in pieces, laid some as dead,

it a point to observe it with all the pharisaical strictness, and in many cases beyond the strictness

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1658.

as dead, sorely bruised others, and thus continued abusing them for the space of three hours, the whole time of the meeting, and at their departure repeated the like abuses, pursuing some of them with stones and dirt about two miles. Besse, vol. i. p. 241.

It was customary with the scholars at Cambridge, when any of this people passed the streets to or from their meetings, to throw dirt and stones at them, to tear their clothes and spit in their faces. In their publick meetings the scholars insulted them by breaking the windows, throwing great stones and shooting bullets in, to the hazard of their lives. When William Allen, who was frequently concerned to preach in those meetings, was declaring, they would run through the meeting-house like wild horses, throwing down all before them, hallooing, stamping and making a noise, as if several drums had been beating, to prevent his being heard: while he was speaking, they threw stones at him, broke his head in several places, cut his face and bruised his body; he nevertheless persisted in his known duty undismayed. In like manner did they abuse others of the assembly, pulling off the women's headclothes, and daubing their faces with filth and excrcments. Some of the barbarities were acted in the sight of the senior fellows and proctor of the college, who shewed no dislike thereat; and when Alderman Nicholson, a sober and moderate man, grieved at such inhumanity, complained to the proctor, desiring him to use his authority to keep the scholars quiet, he churlishly answered that *he could not, nor would not*. Do. 86.

Cambridge,
1658
and
1659.

On the 7th of November, this year, William Dewsberry, preaching at a meeting at Newark upon Trent, was insulted and much abused by the people; however, the meeting was held, though through much disturbance, and at the close of it another meeting was appointed at the same place on the 11th of same month, being the first day of the week, at which while the testimony of truth was declaring, a rude multitude broke in, thrusting down both men and women, buffeting, punching and stoning them, so that some were knocked down, others had their teeth beaten out and their faces bruised; women had their head-clothes pulled off.

Notting-
hamshire,
1659.

After

CHAP. XI. ness which the mosaical law appointed for ob-
 1659. serving the seventh, furnish an occasion to reflect
 upon the irrational inconsistency of superstition
 in every shape, by which I understand an over-
 zealous attachment to some circumstantial of
 religion, while the essential part, viz. the in-
 wardly sanctifying power thereof, whereby we
 are taught to honour God, and love and do
 good to mankind, is overlooked. These men,
 it's probable, would have thought it a heinous
 crime to have been employed on that day in any
 honest labour, though in itself lawful, and in
 some sort necessary, and yet shewed no reluc-
 tance or compunction in committing unlawful
 actions,

After this manner they continued to abuse about an hundred
 persons who were there religiously assembled, and who bore
 all patiently as Christian sufferers. Besse, v. i. 552, 553.

Somerset-
 shire,

1659.

On the 22d of the month called March, this year, was a
 meeting at the market-cross in Glastonbury, where Edward
 Burrough preached. Samuel Winney, priest of that parish,
 attended by some drunken fellows with a drum, came thither,
 and demanded *by what authority he came there to preach?*
 Edward answered in the scripture phrase, *he that hath received*
a gift, let him minister according to the gift received. He then
 returned the question upon the priest, desiring him to *prove*
his call to the ministry from scripture. This pinched him, and
 he withdrew, leaving the rabble to plead his cause, who fell
 to beating their drum, whooping, hallooing and thrusting
 the friends to and fro in a wild and barbarous manner; and
 it was said that one of the priest's agents had made many of
 the mob drunk on purpose to qualify them to perform such
 wicked service for the church. Do. 585.

Dorsetshire,

1660.

On the 17th of the month called May, a rabble raised by
 beat of drum came to the meeting at Broad Cerne, beset the
 house, fired guns under the windows, beat those that were
 met with poles and with their guns, stoned them through the
 streets and hurt several of them, so that some spit blood a
 long time after, and others were sorely bruised, narrowly
 escaping with their lives.

actions, as opposite to good government as to religion, in assaulting the persons, and destroying the property of their inoffensive, unresisting neighbours and fellow citizens, with violence and outrage, whose only crime was the applying the day to the best purpose, the assembling to worship their maker in that way they were persuaded in their consciences was most acceptable to him. The magistrates and teachers also could not only let such riots pass unpunished and uncensured, but too often abet them, and at the same time fine and confine several of these people as * sabbath-breakers, for riding a few

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* Such was the superstition of those times, that many of the people called Quakers, going to religious meetings a few miles distant from their own dwellings, were taken up by officers under pretence of breaking the Sabbath, had their horses impounded, and sometimes detained for a penalty of ten shillings for travelling on that day; and at other times themselves, for refusing to pay that penalty, were set in the stocks. Bessé, v. i. 75.

Buckinghamshire, 1658.

The religious zeal of this people in frequenting their assemblies for worship, obliged them to travel to the places where they were held, which being sometimes at a considerable distance, their going to or coming from them on the first day of the week was called a breach of the Sabbath, and punished by fines, distress of goods or imprisonment. For this cause, Samuel Skillingham and Zachary Child, going to a meeting at Weathersfield, were stopped by wardens in the street, and sorely beaten and abused by a justice's clerk: and for the same cause Elizabeth Court was sent to the house of correction, where she was whipped and suffered much cruel usage, being kept without candle or fire in the cold winter when she was sick of an ague. John Child, for riding to a meeting, had his horse taken away and kept from him three weeks, and then returned home without bridle, saddle, pillion or cloth, all which they detained for a pretended forfeiture. Edmund Cross, John Pike, Richard Waite and William Halley, were taken out of a meeting at Hertsley and set in the stocks

Essex,

1656,

1659.

CHAP. a few miles to a meeting on that day : Proving
 XI. their ostentatious religion to be like that of the
 Pharisees,

1659.

six hours for coming thither on the Sabbath day, &c. &c.
 Bessé, v. i. 193.

Somerfet-
 shire.

1657.

George Taylor and his wife, riding on the first day of the week to Puddimore meeting, had one of their horses taken away ; and on the same day of the next week, passing thither again through Ilchester, had their mare taken away, with saddle, pillion and bridle. In like manner Christopher Pittard's horse was taken from him as he was riding to the same meeting : at which meeting, the justices Hunt and Cary being informed that Thomas Budd's wife was present, they granted their warrant for levying ten shillings upon her husband's goods. About the same time, Christopher Bacon of Sutton, going to Puddimore meeting, by the way went to visit his friends in Ilchester jail, where he was taken by the watch ; after three days detention there he was sent to prison, where he lay three months till the sessions, at which he was fined five pounds for not taking off his hat, and recommitted. Bessé, v. i. 582.

Cornwall,
 1659.

Anne Upcot, daughter to the priest of Anstell, being convinced of the truth, separated from the public worship, and testified against the vain conversation of the professors of those times : this incensed her father and three brothers against her, so that they sought occasion to prosecute her, a peculiar instance of which is as follows, viz. on the first day of the week, as she was putting on her clothes, she found her waistcoat torn, and was mending it, when one of her sisters came into the room ; she acquainted her brother, who also was constable, he goes to a justice and gets a warrant to bring her before him, who ordered her to pay five shillings for Sabbath breaking, and authorized her brother either to levy the same upon her goods, or set her in the stocks. The spiteful brother took the rougher course, and put her in the stocks in a time of much rain, himself with his father and brothers being placed in a window hard by, and from thence jeering and scoffing at her, and encouraging the boys and other rabble to abuse her, insomuch that some of the neighbours wept to see their unnatural usage of her ; which cruelty of theirs affords this observation, that *men of ill morals may be extremely superstitious.*

Pharisees, who would strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. CHAP.
XI.

In this year the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation. Oliver Cromwell, notwithstanding the authority he possessed, notwithstanding his reputed political abilities, his penetration, his artful duplicity and address, is said to have felt himself greatly embarrassed and perplexed near the close of his time, to manage the different contending parties into which the nation was divided; but after he was removed, his successor not inheriting his father's capacity, experience or dissimulation, being a man rather of a tranquil and pacific disposition, and more adapted to fill a private station than to guide the helm of government, in these days of turbulence and confusion, the different factions were upon the watch for some event or revolution favourable to their respective interests, and the repossession of the supreme power, which Oliver had wrested from them all. Party animosities revived with additional heat. The officers of the army, the republicans and royalists, all caballing, plotting and waiting the favourable season to promote a revolution in support of their own power. George Fox, solicitously concerned for the preservation of his friends in an honest, quiet and peaceable life, and fearful lest any young or unexperienced people, who might sometime come amongst them, might be drawn into associations with one or other of these parties, wrote an epistle of caution, wherein he admonishes his friends 'to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven, which is above

1659.

G. Fox
writes a
caution a-
gainst join-
ing in par-
ties.

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all the combustions of the earth, to let the innocence of their lives and circumspection of their conduct manifest to all men the spirit of the gospel of Christ; that whereas those who speak evil of them, beholding their chaste conversation coupled with fear, might glorify their Father which is in heaven. And he thus remarks: "All that pretend to fight for Christ are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight." "All that pretend to fight for the gospel are deceived, for the gospel is the power of God unto salvation," and the distinguishing characteristic thereof is peace on earth and good will towards men; he seems to have the Millennarians or fifth-monarchy men in view^a, who by an absurd combination of wild inconsistencies, had brought themselves to a belief, that the time was come to erect a fifth monarchy, or the reign of Jesus Christ upon earth, and that they were obliged in conscience to use their utmost endeavours to promote it, even by force of arms, as if Christ wanted the assistance of weak mortals to effect his purposes or assert his rights: Or the Prince of Peace, who came to save men's lives and not destroy them, would establish his kingdom by compulsion, violence and bloodshed.

Account of
Friends'
sufferings,
presented
to the par-
liament.

Afterwards a printed account of their sufferings was presented to the parliament, which this Protector convened, exhibiting a relation of above one hundred and forty then in prison, and of one thousand nine hundred who had suffered in the last six years, twenty-one of whom had died in prison, generally by hardship or by violent abuses^b. But the unmerited prejudices of the

^a Rapin.

^b Sewel, p. 205.

age ran in a current so strong against that people, as to bear down every sentiment of compassion. Amongst the different classes into whose hands the government fell, none could be prevailed upon to yield them effectual relief.

CHAP.
XI.
1659.

The principal officers in the army, who had been the chief instruments of promoting Richard's succession to the Protectorate, had exerted their influence, principally from self-interested views, in expectation, under the umbrage of his nominal power, to hold the reins of government in their own hands. But Richard, dissatisfied with this shadow of power, took measures for possessing himself of the real authority, by an attempt to enlarge the number of the Privy Council, so as to introduce a majority of his own creatures, and to bring the army to a dependance on himself. These measures roused the jealousy of the officers, and the parliament now sitting having also discovered a purpose to weaken their influence, they combined together to force Richard to dissolve this parliament, and shortly after restored the supreme authority to the remnant of the long parliament, now reduced to about forty in number.

We have had fundry occasions to remark the brotherly affection and sympathy abounding amongst this people, manifested by a mutual concern for each other's welfare; and that while they seemed each regardless of his own liberty, they were strenuous advocates for that of their brethren, zealously and almost incessantly in their several turns, representing to those successively in authority the suffering cases of their friends, either by word of mouth, in writing or in print. So upon this change of government, fresh application was made to this parliament for relief in

CHAP. a very extraordinary propofal : A printed paper
 XI. was prefented to them, fubfcribed by one hundred and fixty-four of this people, wherein (referring to the account of their fufferings before prefented to the parliament) they offer themfelves freely perfon for perfon to lie in prifon inftead of fuch of their brethren as were under confinement, and might be in danger of lofing their lives from the length and extremity of their imprifonment as feveral of their brethren had done, whereby they demonftrated the perfection of christian charity amongft themfelves, and left their oppreffors without excufe, although their offer was rejcted with fome marks of refentment *.

1659.

Commotions

* I find in Macaulay's *Hift. Ann.* 1659, the following note : " Even fo early as the commencement of the laft parliament, when the bill for recognizing Richard was in debate, " a petition in favour of a republic was prefented to the houfe " by a formidable body of citizens ; and after the army had " declared themfelves, was feconded by another from the " feftaries called Quakers. This laft petition was highly refented, and the following angry answer returned ; That the " houfe had read the paper, and did diflike the fcandals " thereby caft upon magiftracy and miniftry ; and did therefore order that the petitioners fhould forthwith refort to " their refpective habitations, and there apply themfelves to " their callings, and fubmit to the laws of the nation and the " magiftracy."—What I have to remark on this note is, that I apprehend a miftake as to the purport of the petition prefented by the people called Quakers, fo far as it conveys an idea of their petitioning for a republic or reftoration of the long parliament. It was an eftablifhed principle with them to demean themfelves quietly and peaceably under that government which providence might permit to exercife the rule over them in their temporal concerns, referving to the divine Being what properly belonged to him, and in their eftimation to him alone, the dominion over their confciences. But (as far as I

Commotions still continued in the nation. The royalists meditated a general insurrection, and George Booth, in Cheshire, rising in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the Quakers, so called, to take up arms, offering considerable posts and commands to some of them : ° But being very sincere in their profession of religion, and esteeming war and violence inconsistent with pure christianity; steady to those principles they believed true, the prospect of human honour and worldly advancement, had no place with them to turn them aside from the undeviating pursuit of a point, in their view, of much higher importance, the endeavouring to secure to themselves admission in that kingdom which is higher than all the kingdoms of this world. Yet some unsettled and inconsiderate persons who at times seemed to associate with them, appearing inclined to comply with these

CHAP.
XI.
1659.

can discover) they attached themselves to none of the political parties which at that time distempered the state, having been treated with severity by all in their turns; having made successively ineffectual application for redress of their grievances, and met with nothing but rejection, indignities and contempt, they had no political reason for wishing well to any one of the present contending powers above the other, as all were their adversaries. And it was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with secular factions; for notwithstanding the contemptuous light in which they were generally viewed and represented, they were undoubtedly actuated by as clear notions of the essence of christianity and the spirit of the gospel, as any other sect at that time existing, in authority at least, being thereby convinced that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, and that of consequence the strugglers for worldly power were not establishers of the kingdom of Christ, which was their principal aim. Ignorant as they are generally represented, they had the good sense to discern the selfish views and partial politics of all these parties,

CHAP. XI. these propofals; and take up arms under Lambert, George Fox found it his duty, by an epistle to caution them againſt it, and his concern for their prefervation had the deſired effect.

1660.

Edward Burrough, indefatigable in his endeavours to procure ſome relief for his brethren under ſuffering, wrote very copiouſly and plainly to the ſucceſſive governors of the nation; and in fundry letters was concerned to tell them (particularly in one to the parliament now fitting) that if they deſiſted not from perſecuting the innocent their power would be cut ſhort, which the event proved to be a true prediction.

During this time of anarchy, the meetings of this people being frequently diſturbed by the populace, as before remarked; and when General Monk marched up to London, ſome of the ſoldiers under his command having been guilty of ſuch

ties, under the diſguiſe of plauſible profeſſions, and that all were guilty of palpable errors:

*Seditione, dolis, ſcelere atque libidine & Ira
Iliacos intra muros peccatur; & extra.*

In factious deeds, deceit or luſt or rage,
Republicans and royaliſts engage.

Under theſe circumſtances, I meet with no addreſſes of theirs to the ruling powers of this æra; but either plain and honeſt teſtimonies of individuals againſt their unrighteous application of the power in their hand, or remonſtrances in a collective capacity of their grievous ſufferings, and applications for relief: Of the latter ſort is the above, which I preſume is the petition mentioned in the note, which as it contained a full account of their grievous ſufferings under arbitrary magiſtrates, infligated by their vindictive teachers to treat them with illicit ſeverity, ſuch representation of real fact being diſpleaſing to the parliament, as it was diſgraceful to their government, was by them termed (though indisputable truth) a ſcandal caſt upon the magiſtracy and miniſtry.

such disturbance, a complaint was made to the CHAP. general, which met with better success than XI. similar applications to those in authority before 1660. had generally done, as it produced the following order.

“ *St. James's, March 9th, 1659.* General Monk's Order.

“ I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England^d.

“ **GEORGE MONK.** ”

Besides the personal injuries they suffered, to which I have hitherto chiefly confined myself, they were also exposed to great spoil and depredations in their property, by unreasonable fines and exorbitant distrains on divers accounts, and especially for their conscientious refusal to pay tithes, and other ecclesiastical demands, which the present preachers (notwithstanding their representing them as a relict of Judaism, when in the possession of the Episcopalians) being gotten into the possession of, were as rigorous and severe in the exaction as their predecessors.

To record all their sufferings for their testimony against the propriety of these demands under the christian dispensation would fill a large volume. The few following cases will afford a sufficient specimen of patience under suffering, extravagant damage and tyrannical malice, in exacting unreasonable demands.

In

^d Sewel, p. 240.

CHAP. XI. In the month called August, Elizabeth Bruce, a poor widow, was sent to prison for tithes of small value, her house and garden being rented but at 6l. per annum, out of which she supported herself and two fatherless children; she was continued a long time in prison. Bessé, vol. i. p. 4.

1660.
Bedford-
shire.

Berkshire, Leonard Cole, for refusing to pay tithes, suffered six weeks imprisonment at Reading, and soon after his discharge, for a demand of 5s. had an horse taken from him worth 4l.

1655.

1656. The aforesaid Leonard Cole was imprisoned twelve weeks at Reading, and then removed by Habeas Corpus to the Fleet, London: While there, the priest his prosecutor, with bailiffs, made a seizure of his corn and cattle to the value of near 100l. all for one year's tithe, for which the former occupier of the same farm told Cole he used to pay but 6l. Ditto, p. 11.

Durham
and Nor-
thumber-
land,

1658.

Essex,

1659.

John Richmond suffered distress of his cattle to the value of 40l. for 8l. demanded for tithe, Ditto, p. 173.

For 50l. demanded, were taken from John Pollard of Steeple, corn, &c. to the value of 322l. Ditto, p. 19.

Gloucester-
shire,

1657.

On the 9th of the month called July, Richard Attwood was committed to prison for tithes, where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

In the same month Edward Buden and William Beaseley, for demands of tithe less than 20s. each, were sent to jail and detained there above seventeen months. During their imprisonment the prosecutor took away three cows from the former and six from the latter of them.

William Wooley was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes of but 6d. value. Rachel Trueman was sued in the Hundred Court, and for 10s. demanded for tithes had a cow taken from her worth 5l. CHAP. XI
1658.

John Tyler of Frampton Cotterel, sued by his parish priest for tithe of about 20s. value, was adjudged by the court to pay 10l. 10s. besides 3l. 10s. costs he had been put to. Bessé, vol. i. p. 209.

Thomas Welsted, for a demand of 3l. for tithes, had his goods taken away to the value of 12l. 10s. And in this year several persons for claims of 1l. 9s. 3d. for steeple-house rates, suffered distress of goods to the value of 11l. 12s. Hampshire. 1659.

In this year were taken from Henry Streater, for 4l. demanded for tithes, three mares and two cows, worth 42l. Robert Biddle, for a demand of 16s. two horses and two cows, worth 15l. 1660.

John Bishop of Gatcomb in the Isle of Wight, a poor labouring man, having a large family dependent on his labour, was imprisoned in Winchester gaol for tithes twenty weeks. Bessé, 230.

In this year Elizabeth Maynard, a poor widow, for tithe of about 2s. value, had a cow taken from her by distress; also Richard North of Yardly, for tithe of an acre of wheat, had his house ransacked by a bailiff, when only two little children were at home: He took away beside his household goods, the wearing apparel of himself and children, and the covering of their beds, for want of which they were much prejudiced in their health, the weather being cold. The bailiff had been heard to boast, *that now he had to do with the quakers, he should grow rich*, but death Hertfordshire. 1657.

CHAP. death deprived him of his expectation soon after.
 XI. Bessé, vol. i. p. 240.

1657. On the 19th of the month called January, this
 Hunting- year, Simon Sanford was prosecuted in the Ex-
 donshire. chequer for tithes under 5l. value, and commit-
 1657. ted to Huntingdon gaol, where he lay seventeen
 months, till discharged by order of a committee
 of parliament. Ditto, 261.

Kent. Edward Noakes of Word near Sandwich, af-
 1659. ter he had suffered imprisonment at Canterbury,
 at the suit of Paul Pettit, an impropiator, for
 tithes, was removed to the upper bench at Lon-
 don. At the next assizes a judgment was ob-
 tained against him, and in the term following
 an execution, by which, for tithes valued by the
 jury at 20l. he suffered distress of cattle to the
 value of 99l. Moreover this poor man was
 kept prisoner in the upper bench above two
 years, in which time his wife died, and his fa-
 mily suffered much by his absence. He was also
 sued by the priest of the parish in the Exchequer
 for small tithes at the same time. Ditto, 289,
 290.

Leicester
 and Rut-
 land.

1656. Edward Muggleston, after a prosecution in
 the Exchequer for tithes, was committed to pri-
 son at Leicester. While he lay there his son was
 prosecuted for the same tithe, though known to
 be but a servant to his father.

1658. Zachary Gilby of Thistleton was imprisoned
 in Oakham jail by an attachment out of the
 Exchequer: He was confined there about sixteen
 weeks amongst felons in a cold nasty place. John
 Riddish was also imprisoned there, on an attach-
 ment, for tithe of ten groats value, he being a
 poor labouring man, and having a wife and five
 small children. The woman in her distress ap-
 plied

plied to the priest, his prosecutor, to intercede CHAP. XI.
for his liberty, and took one of her little children with her, judging that might be a means of moving his compassion; but the priest, void of pity, thrust them out of doors, and churlishly told her *She might get her husband out again how she could.* Bessé, vol. i. p. 331. 1658.

William Vincent, for a demand of only 4d. for tithes, was imprisoned in Northampton low jail, at the suit of Thomas Andrews, priest of Wel-Northampton. 1658.lingborough, above a year, among felons, by whom he was much abused, being a very weakly man, and having above a dozen sores about him, by which he was rendered almost unable to help himself, and obliged to go on crutches. His miserable case was represented to the priest, who yet shewed no lenity towards him, but seemed to value the poor man's life at less than one groat. Ditto, p. 530.

Margaret Parker of Aino on the hill, a poor widow, having three children, was imprisoned at Northampton seven and twenty months for tithes of corn and hay less than 13s. 4d. in value. This poor woman's sufferings were grievous, being close confined among murderers, thieves and whores, where her friends were not admitted to see her, otherwise than through the key-hole of the door. Bessé, vol. i. p. 530. Northampton. 1659.

Arthur Goddard was arrested for tithes at the suit of Richard Rogers, priest of Clopton, and after he had been six months in custody, his prosecutor obtained a warrant from two justices to make distress for the same tithe, and took about four times the value. Hard was the case of John Causton, imprisoned in Ipswich jail, in the coldest time of the winter, three months in Suffex. 1658.
an

CHAP. an open room, under a cruel keeper, where,
 XI. through the extreme hardship he endured, he
 contracted a sickness, of which he there died.

1658.

In this year were taken for tithes,

£. s. d.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|-----|---|---|
| 1659. | From William Driver of Tremlic, for 1l. 14s. demanded, goods worth - - - | 12 | — | — |
| | From Thomas Pinson of Ditto, for 14l. 1s. demanded, goods worth - | 57 | — | — |
| | From William Burroughs of Great Fenborough, for 30l. 8s. 6d. de- manded, goods worth - - - | 40 | — | — |
| | From Arthur Goddard of Clopton, for 3l. 10s. demanded, goods worth - - - | 14 | — | — |
| | From Richard White of Mendlesham, for 4l. demanded, goods worth - | 15 | — | — |
| For 53l. 13s. 6d. Taken | | 138 | — | — |

Lucy Oxe, widow, her son-in-law Christopher Sharpe, and Lucy his wife, were cast into Melton jail, at the suit of Francis Davis, priest of Clif-
 ford; though the son and daughter had no pro-
 perty in the land out of which the tithe was
 claimed, being only servants to their mother.
 Bessé, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

1660. It may be proper here to remark, that al-
 Remark on though at this day the people called Quakers
 tithes. are single in their opposition against the legality
 of tithes under the gospel, yet many others be-
 fore them, and many contemporary with those
 of the first generation as well as they, looked
 upon this relick of Judaism to be abolished with
 the law which appointed them. That in the
 pure

pure ages of the church they were neither paid nor demanded. That they were re-established among the numerous corruptions introduced in the darkness of a declining age, and wrested from the people to the sole use of the clergy, so called, by Romish craft and policy, and were by many of that age esteemed a relick of popery, retained by a partial reformation, through the management of self-interested priests and rulers, and looked upon as an intolerable grievance, to be abolished in the progress of reformation to apostolical purity; the redressing whereof, with other grievances, the people were amused with the hopes of, by those preachers and leaders who had instigated them to arms against the civil and ecclesiastical encroachments on their liberty and property: But they were only amused; for when their leaders attained their aim in reaching the pinnacle of power, they were more intent on keeping by policy a fast hold of the reins of government, which they had seized by violence, than to redress the grievances of the subject. When the dissenting teachers, by the revolutions of the state, became the establishment, and succeeded to the possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of the episcopalians, they manifested the genuine spirit of the priesthood, in securing to themselves the possessions and emoluments of the church, (so called) and opposing in a body every attempt to lessen them, or make any alteration therein; being as tenacious of the power, the privileges, the incomes and the perquisites of the sacerdotal office, and as oppressive in exacting and recovering them from those, who from a conscientious scruple withheld them, as those that went before

CHAP.

XI.

166a.

CHAP. before them; proving that priestcraft in all de-
 XI. nominations is the same. And thus through all
 1660. the revolutions of government, and all preten-
 sions of attempting a further and more perfect
 reformation, this anti-christian yoke continues
 unremoved.

Other denominations, to evade suffering, gave
 up the contest; but the Quakers still maintain
 their testimony in this case for primitive purity,
 and against Romish corruptions and usurpations;
 from a conscientious motive, and therefore ra-
 ther choose to suffer some loss of property than
 violate their consciences by actively upholding a
 practice which they esteem to be virtually for-
 bidden by Christ, in his command to the first
 and best ministers of the gospel, from whom the
 following priesthood have idly laid claim, by
 uninterrupted succession to power they never
 thought of, and emoluments they neither pos-
 sessed nor desired: "Freely ye have received,
 "freely give," was the first and plainest ordi-
 nation sermon, which this people think amounts
 to a prohibition not only of tithes, but of stated
 and involuntary contributions for the support
 of gospel ministers; and therefore it is an esta-
 blished principle with them, not to pay tithe or
 any other fixed stipends either to their own mi-
 nisters or those appointed by the state.

Being now advanced to a remarkable period,
 wherein a thorough revolution in the govern-
 ment and state of the nation took place, by the
 re-establishment of monarchy and episcopacy, in
 consequence of the restoration of Charles the
 second to the throne, which was effected in the
 month called May this year; and having con-
 fined the narrative to England, as the principal
 scene

scene of action, it seems a proper time to look abroad, and relate the steps taken by fundry members of this society to propagate their doctrines, and the reception they met with in other parts during this period.

CHAP.
XI.
1660.

C H A P. XII.

W A L E S.

Morgan Floyd, Priest of Wrexham, sends two of his Congregation to make Enquiry after the People called Quakers, when one of them, John Ap John, is convinced.—He is abused by a Priest, and imprisoned.—Thomas Holmes travels in Wales.—George Fox visits Wales.—Is rudely treated at Brecknock.—Many convinced.—Sufferings of this People in this Principality.

IN the year 1653, while George Fox and his fellow-labourers were yet employing their ministerial labours in the northern parts of England, divers reports going abroad concerning them, Morgan Floyd, priest of Wrexham in Denbighshire, sent two of his congregation into the north to make enquiry concerning this new sect, who upon meeting and conferring with them, were so affected with the power attending their discourse and their ministry, that they were both convinced of their principles, abode with them

CHAP.
XII.
1653.

some

CHAP. some time and then returned home. One of
 XII. them, named John Ap-John, retaining his integrity, in some time after received a gift in the ministry, and continued a faithful and serviceable member of the society, and a sharer with his brethren in the tribulations of that day.

1653.
 John-ap-
 John con-
 vinced.

Abused by
 a priest.

Imprisoned.

For in the year 1655^e, being in the public worship house at Swanzey, after the preacher had ended his sermon, he asked him, *whether he was a minister of Christ?* this question gave great offence both to the priest to whom it was addressed, and another who was present; this latter gave way to his passion so far as instantly to seize John by the collar, and without suffering him to speak another word, dragged him out and delivered him to a constable, who confined him that night in a close dark prison^t. Next day he was brought before the magistrates, whom these priests endeavoured to incite to persecution, as too usual, by desiring in their blind zeal, *to have him whipped, that the devil might come out of him:* and as often as he attempted to speak, one or other of the priests would strike him and stop his mouth with their hands. At length he was sent to prison under a general charge of misbehaviour, no particular cause of imprisonment being specified in the mittimus, the fact being in no wise criminal, nor liable to the penalty of any law; but the justice, to gratify the priests, stretched his power beyond the letter of the law, to oppress an harmless man, of which arbitrary rule our history furnishes not a few instances.

In

In 1654, Thomas Holmes travelled into Wales, CHAP. XII.
 being reputed to be the first minister among the people called Quakers that preached in that principality; of his service I do not meet with very particular accounts, yet there is reason to believe it was effectual to the convincement of several, as in the year 1656 I find that from seven persons of this society in Glamorganshire, for 8l. 10s. 6d. demanded for tithes, their goods were taken by distress to the amount of 28l. 8s. And from nine in Radnorshire for 4l. 3s. 4d. demanded, to the amount of 23l. 6s. 8d. was taken.

1654.
 Thomas
 Holmes
 travels into
 Wales.

In the forepart of 1657, George Fox first visited some parts of Wales: From Bristol coming to Cardiff, a justice of peace sent him a message, desiring, "he with half a dozen of his friends would come to his house;" accordingly he went, accompanied by a few of his friends, and met with a courteous reception from the justice and his wife. * The next day he had a meeting there, which notwithstanding some attempts of disturbance, was held to good satisfaction, and many were convinced of the truth of the doctrines he published that day.

G. Fox vi-
 sits Wales.
 1657.

At Swanzey also his labour was blessed with remarkable success, and a settled meeting of this society established there. At Brecknock he met with rude treatment, and apprehension of danger from the populace, raised and stimulated to riot and tumult by the magistrates. Next morning he wrote a paper to the town, to point out their unchristian-like behaviour, and how contrary it was to true religion and virtue.

Swanzey.
 At Breck-
 nock rudely
 treated.

From hence he went to a great meeting in a steeple-house yard, to which many people came,

VOL. I. T and.

C H A P. XII. and amongst the rest Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, accompanied by another justice: his ministry here was effectual to the conviction of many: after the meeting, he went with Walter Jenkin to the afore said justice's house, who expressed his approbation of his service, saying, "you have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds."

1657. Many convinced. Pontemoil. He next proceeded to Pontemoil, had a great meeting there, which several people of account attended, and so many were there convinced, that a large meeting was gathered and established in these parts. From hence he returned to England.

Sufferings. As to the sufferings and persecutions of this people in Wales, as their numbers were not very large during this period, their sufferings were less multiplied, yet chiefly through the instigation of priests, they bore a share of the afflictions of their brethren, in imprisonments, in personal abuse, in the disturbance of their meetings, and distresses for tithes, and those called church-rates, and although some of them were remarkable and severe enough, particularly the sufferings of John-ap-John and Elizabeth Holmes, yet to avoid prolixity on a subject every where supplying abundant matter for reflection, I pass on to

S C O T L A N D.

First meetings of this people in Scotland.

THE earliest meetings of the people called Quakers in Scotland were held about the year 1653; when several serious enquirers into the nature of true religion, and the purity and spirituality

rituality of gospel-worship, burdened with the formality, superstition and will-worship, under which the national preachers laboured to keep their hearers in bondage, began to separate from the publick assemblies, and to meet together by themselves to wait upon God in silence, and to worship him, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth. As they were thus exercised in an holy silence, and awful humility of soul, they came to experience the quickening virtue, power and influence, of the holy spirit of God, enabling some of them to speak forth his praise, and from a sense of his goodness to become instrumental for the edification of others in the faith. The first natives of this country, who distinguished themselves as preachers among this people, were William Osborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton: This Alexander Hamilton, with his wife and sister, had been members of a church or society of independents, whereof one Thomas Chartres was the pastor or teacher. Their departure from the church was regretted by the rest of the society, they being persons esteemed for their regular life and religious deportment, and Chartres would willingly have induced them to come again and sit under his teachings, but finding all his endeavours to that purpose ineffectual, he at length threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for passing that sentence, giving the said Alexander Hamilton previous notice thereof. Hamilton warned him *to forbear, lest the anger of the Lord should be provoked against him.* This caution Chartres regarded not, but answered, *it is but Alexander Hamilton that says so:* To which Hamilton, in the presence of many witnesses, replied, *that it was not only he, but what he had said, was of*

C H A P.
XII.
1653.

First
preachers
in Scotland.

A remarkable
passage
respecting
A. Hamilton.

C H A P. *the Lord.* But Chartres persisted in his resolution, which yet he was prevented from putting into execution, in a remarkable manner, whether providentially, or accidentally, we leave to our readers judgment, and shall only relate the matter of fact, being as follows, viz. About two days before the time he had fixed for pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against the said persons, as he was walking in the steeple-house yard, where his horse was grazing, he stept to him to stroke him, when the horse gave him such a violent kick on the side as proved mortal, and occasioned his death about the same time in which he had purposed to pass the said sentence. By this means his design was frustrated, and *the curse causeless did not come.* Prov. xxvi. 2.

English
preachers
travel into
Scotland.

Some of the first of this people from England, who travelled into Scotland, were Christopher Fell, George Wilson, John Grave, Sarah Chevers, and Katharine Evans; also Miles Halhead and James Lancaster, who in the year 1654, being at Dumfries, and Miles, after the priest had ended his customary performance in the steeple-house there, testifying against the deceit and hypocrisy of the people, they were so enraged, that they forced him and his companion out of the town to the side of a great river, intending there to have stoned them, but they by wading through the river, escaped their hands. After which they were at Edinburgh and Leith about ten days, where Miles delivered to the officers and captains of the army and garrisons his message, which was, that *the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises, which they made to him in the day of their distress, when the enemies compassed*

compassed them on every side, for then the Lord CHAP XII.
 delivered them and gave them the victory, but they
 had returned him evil for good, and committed
 violence against those he had sent to declare his
 word amongst them. Having performed his duty
 in this respect, they went to Glasgow and Ster-
 ling, and then returned to England. 1655.

Anno 1655. William Caton and John Stubbs W. Caton
and
J. Stubbs.
 visited their brethren in Scotland, administering
 such counsel, as in their low condition at that
 time, tended to their edification. John Stubbs
 returning to England, W. Caton went to Sterling,
 where he was taken and carried before the gover-
 nor, who at first accosted him in a rough and
 angry manner, but William being of a meek and
 christian temper, by his soft answers appeased his
 wrath, so that he became cool and sedate. He
 was also at Glasgow, and went into the great
 cathedral there, where after their worship was
 ended, he had an opportunity of speaking to the
 people in the yard, the English foldiers, in gar-
 rison there, not permitting any injury to be done
 to him. At Douglas he published the truth
 without much opposition.

In October 1657, George Fox was at Edin- G. Fox.
 burgh, where he was summoned to appear before 1657.
 the council, who sent an officer to his inn, with
 the following order, viz.

“ Tuesday, the 8th of October 1657, at his

“ Highness’s council in Scotland.

“ Ordered, that George Fox do appear before Order of
council.
 “ the council on Tuesday the 15th of October
 “ next, in the forenoon.

“ E. DOWNING, clerk of the council.”

He appeared accordingly, and after examina-
 tion, they told him that *he must depart the nation
 of Scotland by that day sevennight.* Nevertheless

CHAP. he continued travelling up and down through
 XII. several parts of that country, preaching among
 the people wheresoever he came, and afterwards
 1657. returned to Edinburgh, where he was told, that
*the council had issued warrants to apprehend him
 for breach of their order, in not departing the
 country within the limited time. To which his an-
 swer was, what do ye tell me of their warrants?
 If there were a cart-load of them I do not heed
 them. For he, knowing his commission to be from
 God, was carried above the fear of man in dis-
 charging it; and a peculiar hand of Providence
 was sometimes visible in the manner of his deli-
 verance.*

G. Fox's
 courageous
 answer.

ISLE OF MAN.

1656. THE magistrates of this island being early pre-
 possessed with prejudice against the Quakers (so
 called) and their doctrine, by the misrepresenta-
 tions of the preachers of those times, whose inter-
 est it militated against, made laws against them
 at their first arrival there; one of which was for
 banishing all of that persuasion, whether natives
 or others; accordingly Catharine Evans was
 taken out of her bed by night, and sent away.
 James Lancaster was also expelled the island for
 no other reason than his going under the name
 of a Quaker. Peter Cosnock, his son, and
 several others were imprisoned at Castlepeel, by
 order of William Christen, a magistrate there,
 from thence they were removed to Douglas, and
 banished. They applied to the Lord Fairfax for
 leave to return, but he would not grant it,
 though some of them were born there. At
 length, upon application to the parliament, such
 as were inhabitants of the place were permitted
 to return to their habitations.

William

William Callow was detained eight weeks in prison for reproving a priest, whom he had heard abusing the people called Quakers in his sermon to the people. Several persons were taken out of a meeting on the first day of the week, and set in the stocks four hours in the market place; others were fined, of whom were William Callow, John Christen and Evan Kerush; from the two former were taken ten bushels of oats by distress, which were laid in William Christen's barn. On the next first day after sermon the priest gave public notice for the poor of the parish to go to the barn and take some corn, which the governor had ordered to be distributed amongst them; some of the poor people, his own hearers, answered, "That it had been more charity to have given his own goods to the poor than other men's, and that they would receive none of it." However, some of the poor went to the place with the priest and soldiers, and William Callow went also. The priest called to the poor several times to hold their bags, but none of them would; at this the priest grew angry, and looking sternly at William Callow, called to the people, "Why don't you take the corn? Is there any one here that hath aught to do with this corn, or saith it may not be given to the poor;" this he said to provoke from William some expression, but he held his peace. The poor stood still a while, and then withdrew one by one, leaving the corn with the priest and soldiers. On the following first day the parson again published the distribution of the corn as before,

* This William Christen was a deputy under Lord Fairfax, but falling afterwards under his displeasure for some misdemeanour, he was shot to death on the island. In his last speech he mentioned with much regret his evil treatment of the Quakers.

CHAP. before, signifying how much the governor was
 XII. displeased that they had not taken it. For fear
 of the governor and the priest, some poor people
 1657. went again to the place, but only one of them
 would take any, and he vauntingly said to the
 rest, "you are so proud you will not take it: I
 "have got this, and there will be more of his
 "goods taken before this be eaten, and then
 "I'll get more;" but it happened, that before
 he had eaten what he took, he was taken away
 by death. His sudden exit was interpreted by
 the other poor as a judgment upon him, and
 they were glad that they had kept themselves
 clear. The rest of the corn lay till it was spoiled,
 for nobody would take it. From this instance
 we may justly observe, that the innocence and
 patience of sufferers in the cause of religion,
 carries with it a force of conviction on the con-
 sciences of the people, which the arts of designing
 and interested men cannot easily eradicate.

1659. William Callow and several others for 2d.
 each demanded by the priest for bread and wine,
 of which they had received none, were impris-
 oned by a warrant from † James Challoner the
 governor, from whom also in September this
 year the priest procured another warrant for the
 imprisonment of William Callow and Evan
 Christen, for refusing to pay tithes. One morn-
 ing early, as soon as they came on shore, after
 being all night in the wet and cold at sea, (for
 they were fishermen) they were hurried to pri-
 son

† This James Challoner had been a member of the long
 parliament, and after the King's return had been sent for to
 London, in order, as was thought, to be tried among the
 regicides. The day he was to go he took something under
 pretext of physick, which killed him in a short time. He
 had been a violent persecutor, and was heard to say, a little
 before his death, that he would quickly rid the island of Quakers.

son in their wet clothes, and detained several days in the midst of their herring fishery, the most advantageous season for their business. This, however designed by their adversary, was not productive of the prejudice which might be naturally expected, for the next night after their release they caught as many fish as they were able to bring to shore, so that they had reason gratefully *to acknowledge a peculiar providence attending them.*

CHAP.
XII.
1659.

I R E L A N D.

C H A P. XIII.

William Edmundson the first of the People called Quakers in Ireland.—Account of him.—Importuned to settle in Dublin, but removes from thence to Antrim.—Going to the North of England hears James Naylor preach, whereby he is fully convinced.—Refuses to swear.—Miles Halhead, Miles Bateman and James Lancaster visit Ireland.—William Edmundson removes to Lurgan, and settles a Meeting there.—Receives a Gift in the Ministry.—John Tiffin comes over from England, William Edmundson accompanies him to Belfast.—Richard Clayton and William Edmundson travel on foot.—Are refused Entertainment at Coleraine.—Several convinced near Kilmore.—Several Friends from England visit Ireland.—First Meeting in Dublin.—Many convinced.—At Limerick Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill assaulted, and put out of the Gate.—Taken Prisoners at Cork, and sent under a Guard to Dublin, and banished.—Edward Burrough's Remonstrance against their Treatment.—Barbara Blaugdon's Interview with the Lord Deputy.—William Edmundson quits Shop-keeping.—Removes to the County of Cavan, and settles a Meeting there.—Removes thence to Queen's County, and settles a Meeting at Mountmelick.—Barbara Blaugdon imprisoned.—William Edmundson set in the Stocks at Belturbet.

W. Edmundson
the first of
the Quakers
in Ireland,

THE first of the people called quakers in Ireland was William Edmundson, who came over in the way of trade; and being soon after convinced

vinced of the truth of the principles of this people, and adhering to them, was instrumental to the convincement of some others, before any of their ministers came over from England; and as he fixed his residence in that kingdom, and became a very reputable member and minister in this society there, it seems proper to open this part of the history with an account of him.

CHAP.
XIII.
1651.

He was born at little Musgrove in Westmoreland, in the year 1627, and in his early minority was often seriously affected with consideration about a future state; and as his age and faculties advanced towards maturity, his desires after everlasting felicity encreased in proportion. * About the year 1650 he entered into the parliament's army, but continued in it only for a short season, for during the campaign in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, the subject which had before closely exercised the attention of his thoughts (i. e. the salvation of his soul) fixing more deeply in his mind, he soon grew weary of the military life, and laid down his arms, in order to be more at liberty to engage in the spiritual warfare. In the year 1651 he returned from Scotland into England, and was quartered in Derbyshire; which being about the time of George Fox's release from Derby jail, he, and the people who had there lately received the denomination of Quakers, were become a general topick of conversation, and variety of reports were propagated concerning them, some in their favour, and many to their disadvantage: Upon the comparison, William, before he knew them, found his heart inclined to the favourable side.

Account of
W. Edmundson.

About

* William Edmundson's journal, p. 1.

CHAP.
XIII.

1651.

Importuned
to settle in
Dublin, but
prevented.

About this time he entered into the married state, and quitted the army with a purpose to settle in Derbyshire; but at the persuasion of his brother John, who was then a soldier in Ireland, and come over to see his relations in England, he removed into Ireland, taking with him such merchandize as might be like to be in demand there. Landing in Dublin, he was strongly importuned to settle in that city, and besides the solicitations of others, he had the inviting prospect of a brisk trade and low rents, it being soon after the plague had left many houses uninhabited.—^d But he writes that he was rescued by a secret hand, which he then knew not, from the deceitfulness of riches, being by his following experience, brought into the persuasion, that by closing in with the tempting prospect, he might, in the acquisition and pursuit of wealth, have been diverted from the principal object, a life of religious devotion to the service of his Creator, as the means of securing future felicity; which pernicious effect, he observed with regret, the acquisition of wealth and love of the world, had on too many in that day.

From this settled persuasion of mind of the danger hereof, we shall find him in the sequel exerting his zealous endeavours to preserve his friends in that moderation and self-denial of which he set them a lively example, both on this occasion, and at sundry future periods of his life.

From Dublin he removes to reside in Antrim.

^d From Dublin he removed to the North, and took up his residence in Antrim, in or near which his brother was quartered; and quickly disposing

disposing of his goods, he went over to Eng-
 land to lay in a fresh stock, and in his travels
 through the North he heard that George Fox
 and James Naylor were then in those parts,
 which raised his desire to see and hear one or
 other of them. Going to a meeting where
 James Naylor was, he heard him explain the
 nature of the kingdom of God, and the work
 of regeneration; and though his words were
 not many, they were powerful, reaching the
 divine witness in his conscience. * The subject
 was so clearly opened, and concurred with so
 many scriptures brought to William Edmund-
 son's remembrance, that he was thereby fully
 convinced, and thought all who heard his dis-
 course must needs confess it was the real truth.
 The impression on his spirit was deep and last-
 ing, and under the humbling and exercising
 effect thereof he returned home, having accom-
 plished his business in England. Upon his ar-
 rival his brother received him with the custo-
 mary salutation, but under his present exercise
 he could not return it in like manner; for being
 convinced of the necessity of being born again,
 in order to inherit the kingdom of heaven, he
 was affected with earnest desire after this happy
 condition, and imprest with inward anxiety, and
 that godly sorrow which works repentance, with
 a mixture of consolation, in feeling the divine
 mercy awakening his understanding, and
 strengthening his resolution to endeavour after
 this arduous attainment. Under this humbling
 conflict of spirit he sat down, his wife and bro-
 ther sitting by in silent astonishment at his vi-
 sible change.

CHAP.
XIII.
1653.
Going to
the North
of England
near James
Naylor
preach,

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U

His

* William Edmundson's journal, p. 7.

CHAP. ^d His sincerity was soon brought to the test:

XIII. When he came to the entry of his goods, he was, according to custom, required to enter them upon oath, but he being persuaded of the unlawfulness thereof, signified he could not swear, because Christ had forbidden it. This doctrine appeared strange to the officers, and no wonder, as it was the first time, in all probability, they had ever heard such a scruple advanced; and his deportment and plain address, standing covered before them, and addressing them after the usual way of this people, with the singular, *thou* and *thee*, was as offensive to them, as his refusal to swear appeared strange. He was not insensible of the contempt and aversion, he should expose himself to by a scrupulous adherence to the imputed singularities of his profession; and found it a strait path to tread, and was therefore engaged in mental prayer to the Lord, who (he writes) was pleased to administer strength and ability, to stand in the cross, and despise the shame, whereby he was preserved stedfast in his testimony to the truth, brought through the present trial without injuring his conscience, received his goods, and went home.

Remark. It seems not improper here to remark, that these peculiar scruples before-mentioned in the demeanour of this people, contrary to the established customs of the nations at this day, have been (I think) ignorantly imagined to originate merely from an unmeaning affectation of singularity; but whosoever hath been conversant in the memorials these worthy men have left behind

behind them, of their spiritual exercises, will find sufficient grounds to deduce them from a better original, a conscientious conviction of rectitude and truth being in favour of them; too sincere for affectation, and too honest for flattery; intent (above all things) upon seeking the approbation of their Creator, and the testimony of a good conscience, by an unreserved conformity to his will in their actions, their words, and the very thoughts of their hearts, although as men they were not insensible to the feelings of humanity, and were many of them, at first, affected with the natural reluctancy at the prospect of exposing themselves to the censure, the ridicule, and even the abuse of their relations and fellow-citizens, with whom they had before lived on good terms, by whom they had been respected, and with whom they had kept up an intercourse of mutual complaisancy; yet feeling no peace of mind but in adhering strictly to that which was manifested to their understandings as right, even to the jot and the tittle, they preferred the inward testimony of divine approbation, to human respect and every worldly consideration; and in the steady pursuit of this important attainment they were strengthened to take up the daily cross to that carnal disposition, which would win human honour at the risk of solid peace of mind. And apprehending their spirits divinely illuminated, to behold the polluted source from which these modes of complaisant adulation and address originated; and the unmeaning abuse or deceitful purposes to which they were applied, thought it their duty not to hide the candle under the bed of personal ease; but to bear

 CHAP. XIII.
 1653.

CHAP. open testimony for truth and sincerity, at the
 XIII. risk of ease, reputation, and the regard of
 man.

1653. In this respect the situation of William Edmundson must be peculiarly trying, circumstanced as he was, all alone, and without a second in similarity of sentiment or deportment, the wonder, the scorn, and gazing-stock to the world around him; where the name of Quaker had but lately been heard of, and where it was presented to the imagination under all the veil of obloquy, which a precise and censorious age, or interested and exasperated ecclesiasticks thought proper to clothe it with. Besides these external probations he was at this time agitated with internal conflicts in his spiritual warfare, under the work of sanctification, and conviction in the sense of his being (although religiously inclined from his youth) yet short of that perfection of purity which by the divine light was discovered to his mind, as the requisite duty of every Christian to aspire after, and through the assistance of grace follow to the attainment thereof^c; in which religious exercise he passed through a fight of afflictions, wherein he could find none to speak a word of comfort, or that had trodden in this strait path, his only consolation being the continued inward sensation of divine mercy, thus visiting, strengthening and animating his soul to the steady pursuit of its everlasting well-being. Many professors of religion came to carp at, dispute with him, and speak evil of the way he had embraced. Miserable comforters these, adding trouble to his sorrow.

^c William Edmundson's journal, p. 10.

sorrow. But even these things wrought for good. For the censorious reflections of the self-righteous professors, and the derision of the profane and irreligious, to which this society was at that time exposed, raised a general curiosity, and spirit of enquiry into their real principles and conduct, whereby several of the sober enquirers were undeceived, as to their mistaken notions of this people through misrepresentation; and finding him and his friends neither deluded nor deceivers, but men of sincerity and truth, joined with them in society,

¶ In the year 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster and Miles Bateman travelled into Ireland, where they published the truth by preaching to the people in the cities, towns and villages, and before the magistrates, as they were occasionally brought into their presence, and many of the inhabitants hearkened to, and became convinced of the doctrine of the divine light, which they every where bore testimony to.

¶ In the same year William Edmundson removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, a meeting was kept in his house there, which was the first settled meeting of the people called Quakers in Ireland. This meeting was but small at first, but their number encreased, divers sober people, who were seeking after the knowledge of God, joining with them. They held their meeting for some time in silent waiting upon the Lord, and felt his presence to comfort and strengthen them in their religious exercise, having no member concerned in the ministry, nor being,

CHAP.
XIII.
1653.

1654.
Miles Hal-
head, James
Lancaster
and Miles
Bateman
visit Ireland.

William
Edmundson
removes
from An-
trim to
Lurgan, and
settles a
meeting
there.

CHAP. being, since they had a regular meeting, as yet visited by any from England. But it was not long until William Edmundson received a part in the ministry of the gospel, and was influenced, at times, to speak a few words for the encouragement and edification of his friends, although in weakness and fear. ^b Shortly after he believed it his duty to bear a public testimony to the truth in the public worship-house, for which he was severely beaten by Colonel Stewart; but his testimony was effectual to the conviction of some of the auditory, in particular two of them named Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer followed him out of said worship-house, and joined him in community.

1654.
receives a
gift in the
ministry.

John Tiffin comes over from England. Now John Tiffin came over from England, sat with these friends in their meeting in Lurgan, and sometimes spoke a few encouraging and edifying words amongst them. William Edmundson and he joined as companions in traveling, and in the exercise of successful ministerial labour, through much opposition both from the priests and people. The former taking the alarm at their doctrine, pointed against a hiring ministry, and the lawfulness of tithes, or compulsory measures to extort antichristian demands under the gospel, exerted themselves to incense the magistrates and rulers to persecution against this people, as holding damnable doctrines: The latter, offended at the apprehended rusticity of their address, frequently ill treated them not only with abusive expressions, but often with blows and stoning them.

They

^b Rutty's Rise and Progress.

^c William Edmundson's Journal, p. 14.

* They went to Belfast (a town of great profes-
 sion of religion, but very deficient in hospita-
 lity) not an inn nor public house in the town
 being willing to entertain them, one excepted;
 here John Tiffin lodged, and sought frequent
 opportunities to promulgate his doctrine there;
 but the inhabitants, full of their own righteous-
 ness, and looking at them through the medium
 of prejudice, shut their ears, their hearts and
 their houses against them. Thus at the begin-
 ning the way was strait and difficult, but the first
 of this people being men that truly loved and
 feared their Creator, all things wrought together
 for their good: For the general ignominy which
 the malevolence of their adversaries, who were
 many, loaded them with, and who were watch-
 ing for their halting, was the means of increas-
 ing their circumspect care over their own words
 and actions; and over one another for good, to
 take away all just occasion of reproach; and as
 they were kept humble, walking in awful fear
 before the Almighty, and blamelessly before
 men, preaching in their lives and conversation,
 to the reaching the divine witness in many, by
 these means, as well as their doctrinal labours,
 several converts were brought over to join them;
 and this society gained ground, and prospered
 (through divine blessing) notwithstanding all
 the difficulties they laboured under. John Tif-
 fin, having spent five or six weeks here, return-
 ed to England.

The next minister who came out of England,
 was Richard Clayton, who came directly to
 William Edmundson's, as he understood it, by
 the Lord's direction. William joined him in
 his

CHAP.

XIII.

1654.

William
 Edmund-
 son and
 John Tiffin
 go to Bel-
 fast.

Richard
 Clayton and
 William
 Edmund-
 son travel
 on foot.

CHAP. his travels on foot, through the county of Antrim to Colerain, where they preached through the street, for the inhabitants would not admit them into their houses, nor suffer them to lodge in the town; so they were obliged to take up their lodging at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they reached Londonderry, where they were hospitably entertained by one Evans, who with several of his family was convinced by them. They had two meetings in that city, both of which were attended by the governor, who with several others, acknowledged the truth of their doctrine, and demeaned themselves with kindness and affectionate regard towards them. From thence returning through the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, they came to the house of Margery Atkinson near Kilmore, where they had a meeting on the first day of the week, at which meeting several sober people were convinced, through the serviceable ministry of Richard Clayton, receiving the truth in the love of it. And having settled a meeting there (which in time became large) they took leave of each other, and soon after Richard Clayton returned to England.

XIII.

1655.
at Colerain
are refused
entertain-
ment.
London-
derry.

Near Kil-
more feve-
ral convin-
ced.

Meetings
settled at
Grange,
county of
Antrim,
and Tober-
head, coun-
ty of Lon-
donderry.

Now the belief in the inward principle of light and grace began to spread, and the professors thereof to encrease in their number in the northern parts, so that meetings begun to be settled in divers places hereaway. One at Gabriel Clark's, at Grange in the county of Antrim, and another at Archibald Scott's, at Toberhead, county of Londonderry. Conviction spread; and the resentment of the priests and high professors received additional heat from the observation of several leaving them; so that to avenge themselves, they procured the imprisonment

sonment of William Edmundson, in Armagh jail. CHAP. XIII.

¹This year James Lancaster and John Tiffin came over from England the second time: They landed in the North, and came to Lurgan, where they had a meeting on the green, near the market place; here they were set upon by the populace, who beat the said friends and William Edmundson their townsman very severely, and drove them to the town's end, with intention to drive them out of it entirely; but the more sober part of the inhabitants rising to oppose them, prevented their design. 1655.
James Lancaster and John Tiffin a second time.

As yet the profession of those called Quakers had been confined to the province of Ulster; but now it began to extend to other parts, principally through the ministerial labours of Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith; Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who went over to that nation in the course of this year; the former are supposed to be the first of this society who had a meeting in Dublin in the chamber of Richard Fowkes near Polegate, and soon after a meeting was settled at George Latham's, near the same place. Their labours were also remarkably successful in the southern parts of that nation, being effectual to the conviction of many in Dublin and in the province of Munster, particularly William Ames who had formerly been a military officer, a bold and zealous man, and a teacher amongst the Baptists. Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Smith, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough.
First meeting in Dublin.
Many convinced there and in Munster.

Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough also travelled southward into Munster; at Bandon, Francis Howgill was kindly entertained by Edward

CHAP. * Edward Cook, a man of good parts, a Cornet in
 XIII. Oliver Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to
 Lord Cork, and being convinced, he accompa-
 1655. nied him on the first day of the week to the
 Bandon. public worship, where Francis declared truth to
 the congregation. ^m In conclusion Edward Cook
 invited them to come to a meeting to be held at
 his house that evening, to which accordingly a
 great concourse of people resorted, to whom
 Francis preached the gospel, and expounded the
 way to life and salvation; many confessed to the
 truth of his doctrine, and joined in society with
 the Quakers so called.

Many con-
 vinced.

At Limerick
 assaulted
 and put
 out of the
 gates.

From hence they went to Limerick, and at-
 tempting to speak in the public place of wor-
 ship, were prevented by an assault of the people,
 and next morning were put forth through the
 gates. Edward Burrough preached through the
 streets as they passed along, and without the
 gates had an opportunity to preach to a great
 multitude, several of whom were so reached by
 his testimony, as to become profelytes to his
 doctrine and profession.

From Limerick, I apprehend, they returned
 to Cork; but these their successful labours, and
 the number of those who thereby were brought
 to the acknowledgement of the truth of their
 doctrines, alarming the jealousy of the priests or
 public

* The said Edward Cook embraced the truth with his
 whole heart, and retained it, was given up to serve the Lord,
 and lived and walked under the cross of Christ Jesus, in
 great self-denial to the world and the glory and greatness of
 it to his dying day, and laid down his head in peace with
 God, and sweet unity with true hearted friends. Ruttys
 Rise and Progress, p. 95.

^m Rise and Progress, p. 95.

public teachers, by an order of government, at
 at their instigation, these two eminent ministers
 of the gospel, were taken prisoners in Cork,
 and sent under a guard from garrison to garrison
 to Dublin, where they were committed to the
 custody of Edward Mortimer, Serjeant at Arms,
 until an order was procured from Henry Crom-
 well, Lord Deputy, to banish them out of the
 nation, and a guard of soldiers was appointed to
 conduct them on shipboard, and so to be trans-
 ported to England.

C H A P.
 XIII.

1655.

Edward
 Burrough
 and Francis
 Howgill
 taken pri-
 soners in
 Cork, and
 sent under
 a guard to
 Dublin,
 and banish-
 ed.

^a As Edward Burrough had been a zealous ad-
 vocate for the liberty of his brethren in divers
 remonstrances to the ruling powers in England;
 so in his own case his fortitude, founded on con-
 scious integrity, and internal conviction of in-
 nocence, did not desert him: With strength of
 reason, and the manly spirit of evangelical li-
 berty, in a similar address to the present rulers
 of Ireland, he pleaded his own cause, and that
 of his fellow-sufferer, against the arbitrary ex-
 ertion of power, in inflicting punishment without
 legal conviction of any crime. Remonstrating,
 that they were men free born, fearing God, and
 working righteousness; supporters of justice
 and true judgment in the earth, subject to all
 equal rule, and every just ordinance of man for
 conscience sake. That they had come into Ire-
 land under the best impressions, and with the
 best views, with the message of the Gospel of
 Christ Jesus, to turn men from darkness to light,
 and to minister the word of reconciliation and
 salvation freely, without gift or reward: That
 they had travelled for this purpose six months in
 fundry

Edward
 Burrough
 remon-
 strates a-
 gainst their
 treatment.

CHAP. fundry parts of the nation, through many suffer-
 XIII. ings and reproaches, preaching the kingdom of
 God, in sobriety, meekness, and the exercise of
 1655. a pure conscience both in doctrine and conversation, appealing to all who had heard the one or beheld the other, as witnesses for them and their inoffensive and peaceable demeanour, and challenging even their bitterest enemies to prove the contrary. That notwithstanding their manifest innocence, upon malicious suggestions and informations, grounded upon no matter of fact, a warrant had been issued against them, as disturbers of the public peace, from the * chief ruler and council of Ireland, by virtue whereof they were apprehended in the city of Cork, and transmitted under a guard through the country, towns and cities like the vilest criminals to Dublin, where also they were hauled by guards before the council as malefactors: That upon their examination there, none of these things whereof they were accused could be proved against them, nor were they, nor could they be convicted of the transgression of any known law; yet were they, without trial, without conviction, condemned to imprisonment, in order to be transported out of the country as vagabonds, a title applied to them by a gross misapplication and perversion of the term, being men of sufficient property and estate: For, (says he) of whom have we begged? to whom have we been burdensome? or whose bread have we eaten for nothing? or what evil have we done? In fine, making a solemn appeal to the reason and consciences of their persecutors for justice, and boldly demanding

* Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy.

manding their right and privilege, as freeborn subjects, of their personal liberty, until they should be proved guilty by the law of equity or that of the land, to which they professed subjection, and that for conscience sake *.

° The same day that they were banished from Dublin, Barbara Blaugdon landed there, and went directly to the deputy's house, and with some difficulty got admittance to him: being introduced into the drawing-room, a scheme was laid to impose upon her, for as they knew she had never seen the deputy, another person (a priest) came out of the deputy's chamber covered, those that attended him standing bare-headed; and as she did not immediately speak, some of those standing by, asked her *why she did not speak to their lord?* But she, having a sense of the intended deception, answered, *When I see your lord, I shall deliver my message to him:* Soon after the deputy himself came forth, and sat down on a couch, to whom she addressed herself, cautioning him, *to beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth, and persecuting the innocent; but, like wise Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God, it would stand, but if of man it would fall.* Adding that the enmity was not so much in himself, but that he was incited by evil magistrates and envious priests: But in the mean time, in his name and under his authority, much injury was done to the people of God, all over the nation, and that at last it would lie heavy upon him.

She

Barbara
Blaugdon
lands in
Dublin, and
visits the
deputy.

* This remonstrance may be seen at large in Rutt's history of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers in Ireland, as also an excellent Epistle to his Friends in that kingdom.

° Sewel, p. 110.

C H A P. She spake so powerfully, that the deputy appeared under much concern.
XIII.

Having now performed her service in Dublin, she went to Cork, where she had some relations and acquaintance; but her sufferings were great, for she was imprisoned almost wherever she came; and generally wheresoever she preached, it was attended with demonstration, and effectual to the convincement of some of the auditory.

1656. ^PIn the year 1656 William Edmundson apprehended it his duty to discontinue the business of shop-keeping, and take a farm; in order to strengthen and encourage his friends to faithfulness in the testimony they had conscientiously to maintain against the antichristian yoke of oppression, the enforcing the payment of tithes, under the dispensation of the gospel, as apprehending his endeavours to preserve them steadfast under their sufferings would be likely to have a more prevalent effect, when by being a sharer therein he should give force to his advice and religious concern, by his own example. With this view, he and some other friends, leaving the meeting at Lurgan, to which they belonged, well settled, and in a prosperous way, removed with their families, and took land in the county of Cavan, and settled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places, whereby their profession gained ground, and the society enlarged its numbers, several being convinced, and associating with them.

1657. In the succeeding year the meetings of this people in Ireland were visited by Thomas Loe, from

William Edmundson quits shop-keeping and takes a farm.
Removes to the county of Cavan, and settles a meeting there.
Thomas Loe.

from Oxford, an able and eminent minister of the gospel, endued with spiritual discernment to divide the word aright, to the differing states of auditory. He travelled (partly on foot) through the greatest part of the nation, and by his powerful and prevailing ministry was instrumental to confirm and edify his friends, who were before gathered into the society, and to encrease their number by the conviction of others.

The next minister of note, who came from England was John Burnyeat from Cumberland, a man from deep experience of the work of sanctification, and the reception of an excellent gift in the ministry, eminently qualified to promote the work of reformation, and to publish the glad tidings of the gospel. He landed at Donaghadee in the province of Ulster, and travelled on foot, through divers parts of that province, and by means of his ministry many were converted from the vanity and evil of their ways.

Thence he travelled southward into Munster, and back again into the North, and at Lurgan met with Robert Lodge, who was lately come over from England, and who was also an able minister of the gospel: They joined in travelling and in ministerial labour, promulgating truth, and convincing many. At Londonderry they experienced a very different reception from those who went thither before, these being refused entertainment, when known to be Quakers; so called, although they offered to pay for it. They went to the place of public worship on the first day, and had a good opportunity to publish their doctrine to the people; but at length the mayor sent his officers and forced them out of the city. They proceeded from thence to several other

CHAP.
XIII.
1657-

1659.

John Burnyeat.

Travels into Munster.

Joined by Robert Lodge.

At Londonderry met with inhospitable treatment.

Forced out of the city.

CHAPTER. other places in the province of Ulster, and then
 XIII. travelled southward to Dublin, thence westward
 to Galway, and from thence by Limerick to
 1652 Cork and Bandon, and then returned to the
 North again. Thus with diligence and laborious
 travels, through cold, hunger and hardship many
 times (several parts of the country being mostly
 uninhabited) and divers imprisonments, as at
 Armagh, Dublin and Cork, for the space of
 twelve months, they zealously exercised the ta-
 lents they had received for the good of souls,
 and the propagating truth and righteousness in
 this land; without any view to other reward,
 than the inward peace resulting from the consci-
 entious discharge of their duty in the sight of
 God, who was pleased to bless their labours, to
 the convincing and gathering many to the truth
 they promulgated.

William
 Edmundson
 and others
 removed
 from the
 county of
 Cavan to
 the Queen's
 county.

Meeting
 settled at
 Mountme-
 lick.

This year several of the friends who had re-
 moved into the county of Cavan, being disap-
 pointed by their landlord in not fulfilling his
 covenant with them, left it, and settled in or
 near Mountmelick in the Queen's county, viz.
 William Edmundson, Richard Jackson, John
 Edmundson, John Pim and sundry others; and
 several having been convinced in these parts be-
 fore, a meeting was settled at Mountmelick,
 which is since become large. The meeting which
 they left at Cavan continued there until it was
 lost by means of the war, friends who lived there
 being driven from their habitations, and dispersed
 into other parts.

Although the way was difficult to our first
 friends in this nation, and they had a share in the
 sufferings of their friends in England, yet it
 doth not appear that persecution was either so
 general

general or so violent as in the latter kingdom, CHAP. XII.
 which I am ready to attribute to the moderation
 and humanity of Henry Cromwell, at this time
 chief governor, more especially as we have fewer
 accounts of imprisonments and persecutions in the
 city of Dublin than in remoter parts, not so
 immediately under the eye of the government.
 The most remarkable cases that I meet with, be-
 sides those already mentioned, are those which
 follow:

1659.

^a Barbara Blaugdon landing a second time in 1655.
 this country, after narrowly escaping shipwreck
 off Dungarvan, came to Dublin, where she felt
 herself concerned to go to the court of justice,
 and exhort the judges to righteousness and equity
 in the discharge of their functions: But her
 exhortation was so ill received, that she was im-
 mediately shut up in a very dangerous and loath-
 some prison, where she lay upon straw, and
 when it rained, the wet and filth of the house of
 office ran in under her. She was arraigned and
 required to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*; to which
 she answered, "there was no guilt upon any
 "one's conscience for what was done in obedi-
 "ence to the Lord;" which answer not satisfy-
 ing, she was sent back to prison, where she suffered
 much. She was afterward imprisoned in Li-
 merick, and when released thence returned to
 England; but in her passage thither was robbed
 by a privateer of all she had on board.

Barbara
 Blaugdon
 imprisoned.

Edward Cooke, a soldier in Oliver Cromwell's
 army, being convinced of the principles of this
 people; was sent for before the general, where
 nothing appeared against him, but that he refused
 to pull off his hat, using the language of *thee* and

E. Cooke
 turned out
 of the army
 and depriv-
 ed of his
 pay.

X

thou,

C H A P.
XIII.

1655.

thou, and declining the customary compliments; for these causes he was dismissed from the army, and defrauded of his pay. Thus those soldiers, who pretended once to fight for liberty of conscience, became oppressors of other men's consciences, as soon as they were thereby brought into any practice contrary to their general opinions.

1656.

William Edmundson travelling northward, came to a town called Finah, where the innkeepers, when they perceived he was a Quaker, refused him lodging^r, upon which he applied to the constable to provide him lodging as being a traveller, and having money to pay for it, and not without much entreaty obtained admittance into his house, being an ale-house; into which when he entered, he found a company of troopers drinking, who received him with scoffs and impertinencies. They afterward took great offence at his singular address, one of them swearing *if he thou'd him again he would cleave his head*. And accordingly when in the course of conversation he used the term *thou* to him again, the trooper drew his sword; but a corporal being present prevented him from mischief, ordered him to put up his sword, and causing the troopers to go to their quarters, he entered into discourse with him till late at night, was convinced, and came to meetings.

He proceeded to Belturbet, and had a satisfactory meeting there, but the provost of the town being invidiously disposed came with some rude people, broke up the meeting, and imprisoned both men and women all night in a very cold

cold place, and it being a season of frost and snow, they were greatly pinched with the cold, especially the women. The next morning he set them all at liberty except William Edmundson, whom he set in the stocks in the market-place, where, the people gathering about him, furnished him with an opportunity to preach to them, who heard him with attention and sobriety, and reflected much upon the provost for abusing him.

C H A P.
XIII.

1656.
Wm. Ed-
mundson
put in the
stocks at
Belturbet.

The people in general appearing dissatisfied with the provost's treatment of William Edmundson, he sent his officer to let him out ; but as he had been thus made a public spectacle without the violation of any law, he would not submit to a release from a petty officer, till the provost who put him in came in person to take him out.

About this time Oliver Cromwell had published a declaration, "That such should be protected in their religion as owned God the Creator of all things, and Christ Jesus the Saviour of men, and the scriptures, &c." Wherefore when William Edmundson was set at liberty, the governor of the garrison, officers and principal inhabitants, had him brought before them to try him by the declaration, whether he and his friends were under Oliver's protection or not. The declaration being read, and William being called upon to answer to the particulars, gave them such satisfaction, that the governor and company gave judgment, they were under protection, and their religion was to be protected. The provost being present, was covered with shame and confusion at this oblique condemnation of his conduct.

C H A P.

XIII.

1656.

* By a general account published about this time, it appears that for speaking the truth in steeple-houses, markets and other places, ninety-four persons of this society had been sufferers by fines, whipping, putting in the stocks, imprisonment and loss of goods. That nineteen persons had been imprisoned for meeting to worship God in their own houses; and that twelve had been stopped as they were passing the streets and highways about their lawful occasions, and committed to prison.

Beffe.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

NEW ENGLAND.

Discovery of North-America.—First Planters of New-England.—John Robinson's Farewell-Admonition.—Emigrations multiply in the Reign of Charles I.—Reflection on the Spirit of these Colonists.—Roger Williams banished for his religious Opinions.—Schism at Boston.—Synod convened to decide upon it.—John Wheelwright summoned before the Court, disfranchised and banished.—John Coggeshal disfranchised.—Ann Hutchinson adopts Antinomian Opinions; summoned before the Court and condemned to Banishment; murdered by the Indians.—Some of the People professing Anabaptism are persecuted.—Three of them committed to Prison.—Law against Anabaptists.

IN order more fully to elucidate this part of the history, it seems not improper to take a retrospective view of the first settlement of Europeans in this country of New England, one of the most considerable states of the late British dominions in North America.

* The continent of North America was discovered by Sebastian Cabot, in the name of Henry VII. in the year 1497. It first received the name of

CHAP. of Newfoundland, which is now appropriated
 XIV. solely to an island on its coast. It was a long
 time before any attempt was made to fix a settle-
 ment in this country. Sir Walter Raleigh first
 shewed the way by planting a colony in the
 southern part, which he called Virginia, in com-
 pliment to his mistress Queen Elizabeth, under
 which name at first the whole tract of land from
 the bay of Fundy to Florida was comprehended,
 and was distinguished only into South Virginia
 and North Virginia, which together contained
 the countries which came afterwards to be dis-
 tinguished by the names of New England, New
 York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Vir-
 ginia, Carolina and Georgia. King James I.
 incorporated two companies by patent, one for
 South Virginia, called the London Adventurers,
 and the other for North Virginia, who were dis-
 tinguished by the name of the Plymouth Adven-
 turers.

First plan-
 ters of New
 England.

^b The first colonists who went over to people
 this latter country were a class of Puritans (so
 called) distinguished first by the name of *Brownists*,
 from Robert Brown their leader or teacher, and
 afterwards by that of Independents. A congrega-
 tion of these in the eastern parts of England,
 viz. Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and York-
 shire, who had chosen John Robinson for their
 pastor, and William Brewster for their elder,
 to avoid the persecution they found themselves
 exposed to from the bishops in the year 1608,
 fled for refuge to Holland, and fixed their resi-
 dence at Leyden, where they enjoyed the pri-
 vilege of performing their worship in their own
 way without molestation.

After

After some years residence here, Robinson C H A P.
XIV.
apprehending their church would naturally be brought to a dissolution, and their religion be lost in a strange land, and having little prospect of obtaining * an establishment or even a toleration for them in England, encouraged his followers to transport themselves and their families into some part of the British dominions in America, where they might live by themselves, and have a prospect of encreasing their number by the future resort of their friends and countrymen of like principles, as to an asylum from the sufferings and persecutions, which their dissent from the national worship still rendered them obnoxious to.

Being thus brought to a resolution to emigrate, 1620.
they sent over agents to treat with the Virginia company in England for a large tract of land in the northern part of that country, representing themselves as considerable for their numbers, inured to hardships, industrious and frugal ; and embarking on a religious motive, they hoped for the blessing of the Almighty, and resolution to surmount all difficulties. These representations induced the company to comply with their proposal ; and they agreed among themselves to divide, that one party should go before, to prepare for the reception of the rest. Robinson, their pastor, staid with the residue at Leyden, and

* These are Neale's expressions, and carry an appearance as if these emigrants had more extensive views in their emigration than merely withdrawing from the reach of episcopal power ; and their subsequent conduct seems to afford ground for the supposition, that even then they were not exempt from thoughts of establishing amongst themselves an independent dominion in church and state.

CHAP. and Brewster their elder put himself at the head
 XIV. of the emigrants.

1620.

When the time of their separation was come, they appointed a day of fasting and prayer, to implore a blessing on their hazardous undertaking; upon which occasion their pastor preached to them from Ezra, viii. 21. concluding his discourse with the following exhortation, which if the chiefs of his flock and their successors had, in the administration of their government in their new colony, paid a proper attention to, they had rescued themselves from much guilt and censure; but as their pastor did not live to join them, it seems as if the good man and his admonitions were too soon forgotten; although, from the christian temper that animates them, well worthy of remembrance.

J. Robinson's farewell admonition to the emigrants.

“ Brethren, (says he) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that, or no, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ,

“ If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans can't be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: what-
 “ ever

“ ever part of his will our great God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it ; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man, who yet saw not all things.

CHAP.
XIV.
1620.

“ This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God ; but were they now living would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it, it is an article of your church covenant, *That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant : But I must herewith exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it ; for it is not possible the christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist* : 'Tis a meer nickname ; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the christian world.”

These first settlers with their families made about one hundred in number, and having taken shipping from Plymouth, they distinguished the place of their settlement in New England by the name of New Plymouth. Their number gradually increased by the arrival of other emigrants from England ; but it was in the succeeding

1629.

In the reign
of Charles I.
emigrations
far
increase.

CHAP.

XIV.

1629.

far more numerous and more considerable. The King having committed the direction of ecclesiastical affairs into the hands of the bishops, and more particularly to William Laud, then bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; his intemperate bigotry to useless and unmeaning ceremonies; his aversion to the Puritans, to whom his innovations in worship were an abomination; and his determined resolution to force them into an uniformity after his superstitious scheme, impelled him to prosecute them with rigorous severity in the high commission court and Star Chamber, two very arbitrary and illegal courts, that seem to have been established for the purpose of subduing the people to an absolute subjection to the crown in temporals, and the mitre in spirituals.

To evade the persecution of this furious prelate and his associates, many of the Puritan teachers with their hearers resolved to withdraw to New England for sanctuary. About the year 1625, *White*, minister of *Dorchester*, encouraged by the success of Plymouth colony, projected a new settlement at *Massachusetts Bay*, as an asylum for the silenced ministers, and engaging several persons of consequence in the project, a patent was obtained from the King by the adventurers.

One Roger Conant was first sent over to establish a settlement in 1625, and after him John Endicot with recruits and provisions in 1628. And in the next year the grand colony sailed in six ships, and arriving at their intended settlement founded there the towns of Salem, Charlestown and Boston.

Reflections
on the spirit
of these co-
lonists.

Religion (saith Neale) being the chief motive of their coming over into these parts, they resolved to settle that in the first place; accordingly,

ly, with the approbation of John Endicott, their deputy governor, they adopted the church order and discipline settled by their brethren at Plymouth, upon the * system of their former pastor, John Robinson; however, disregarding his farewell admonition, their present teachers and governors seem to have been a self-righteous generation, so far from the diffidence in their present attainments, and that openness to the reception of the further revelation of truth, which he recommended; that in their own opinionated apprehensions of their own purity and ultimate refinement of orthodoxy, they watched with a jealous eye every conscientious dissent from their establishment, every attempt towards a further reformation. In their new religious system, with all their regard to the written word, they appear to have overlooked the principal moral rule of the gospel, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." For these religious dissenters from established forms of worship, would admit of no dissent from that way or form they established in their new colony; notwithstanding their violent exclamations against the tyranny and oppression of the bishops, in endeavouring to force an uniformity in worship by penal laws and coercive measures, they were no sooner invested with the power, than they trod in the very same steps, being

C H A P.
XIV.

1639.

* John Robinson was the father of the independents, being the first that beat out a middle way between Brownism and Presbytery; he maintained the lawfulness of separating from those reformed churches amongst which he lived, yet did not deny them to be true churches; he allowed the lawfulness of communicating with them in the word and prayer, but not in the sacraments and discipline.

C H A P. being equally rigorous in exacting uniformity;
 XIV. and as severe in enacting and executing penal
 laws against con-conformists. Whilst under
 1634. sufferings, they pleaded for liberty of conscience
 to themselves, which when in a capacity to
 exercise authority, they refused to others*.
 Of the justice of these remarks, severe as they
 may seem, the sequel furnishes too many melan-
 choly instances.

Roger Wil-
 liams ban-
 nished.

Long before those called Quakers came
 amongst them, and before they existed as a
 society, as early as the year 1634, about four
 years after their settlement here, they banished
 Roger

* Guthrie's remarks on this subject are a confirmation of
 these observations. The inhabitants of New England, who
 fled from persecution, became in a short time tainted with this
 illiberal vice, and were eager to introduce an uniformity in
 religion among all that entered their territories.

We have also a full proof of this in a letter dated August
 16, 1677, from William Coddington, governor of Rhode-
 Island, to R. Fretwell:

"^b These forty years to my knowledge, they [the rulers of
 " New-England] have had many warnings from the Spirit
 " of the Lord in his servants, all crying out against their
 " idolatrous practices, confused principles and fighting spirit,
 " long before that reproachful name of Quakers got up, and
 " before they were sent of God to call them to repentance
 " and amendment of life; but these they evilly entreated, as
 " they have done John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson and
 " others, banishing them at a court at Bolton in 1636, Henry
 " Vane, governor, and twelve magistrates, twelve priests, and
 " thirty-three deputies: ^b Notwithstanding the governor and
 " myself, who was then a magistrate and treasurer of the
 " country, being against it, had for two days the major-part
 " of the magistrates and deputies holding with us; till the
 " third day the priests gained over two of the magistrates to
 " their side, and so got a majority, who proceeded to banish
 " them, although we entered our protest against it."

Roger Williams, pastor of their church at Salem, CHAP. XIV. for his religious opinions †. In the year 1637 a more extensive schism broke out, which divided the inhabitants of Boston and the adjacent country into two parties, under the denominations of *Antinomians* and *Legalists*; or *such as were* 1637. Schism at Boston. Neale. (as they termed it) *for a covenant of grace; and such as were for a covenant of works*: And as it was no unusual thing with this body to mix politics with their religion, (the general prelude to persecution) the Antinomians exerted themselves to keep Henry Vane, (afterwards a distinguished character in the long parliament) their present governor in power, as he openly espoused their doctrines, and protected their preachers: On the other side, the opposite party employed their efforts to eject him, and substitute * John Winthrop as governor in his stead, and

† These opinions (according to Neal) were “ that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for good men to join in family prayer with those they judged unregenerate. That it was not lawful to take an oath before a magistrate. That the patent they had from King Charles for their lands was invalid, and an instrument of injustice to the natives, the king having no right to dispose of their lands to his subjects without their consent. That magistrates had nothing to do with matters of the first table, but the second only; that there should be an unlimited toleration for all religions, and to punish men for matters of conscience was persecution.” I see nothing in these opinions deserving banishment or even censure. Neal’s history of New-England, v. i. p. 159.

* John Winthrop, although chosen governor for the purpose either of suppressing the Antinomians, or at least depriving them of any powerful support, seems to have been a man of too much good sense and moderation to be a sanguine persecutor. To keep up his party, and to accommodate the furious temper of the priests, he was led too far into the persecuting

CHAP. and with some difficulty succeeded in the elec-
 XIV. tion: Winthrop being settled in the government,
 and the Antinomians having lost their chief
 1637. protector, a synod was convened to consider
 Synod convened to de- the controverted points, and give judgment upon
 cide upon it. them. This synod consisted not only of the
 ministers and delegates, but the magistrates also,
 under colour of keeping the peace, were pre-
 sent, and had liberty to speak if they thought
 proper. By this synod, composed chiefly of
 their antagonists, the Antinomian opinions to
 be sure were condemned. This point being
 carried, the next step was to summon the prin-
 cipals of the party before the secular court,
 which was removed for the purpose to Newtown,
 (since called Cambridge) from fear that they
 had too many partisans in Boston. And three
 of the Boston deputies having sided with these
 Antinomians, in the first place were expelled
 the court; before the court thus culled for the
 purpose, John Wheelwright, colleague with
 John Cotton as preacher at Boston, being an
 Antinomian, was summoned to appear and give
 answer, whether he would acknowledge his of-
 fence in preaching up these new doctrines,
 filing his discourse a seditious sermon, or abide
 the sentence of the court, his answer being
 " that he had been guilty of no sedition nor
 " contempt; that he had delivered nothing but
 " the truth of Christ, and for the application
 " of

John
 Wheel-
 wright
 summoned
 before the
 court.

persecuting measures adopted at this time, but lived long enough to see and condemn his error; for when advanced in years and infirm, Dudley and others applied to him to sign an order for the banishment of one Mathews, a Welch priest, he refused, saying, *he had his hands too much in such things already.*

“ of his doctrine, that it was made by others C H A P. XIV.
 “ and not by himself.” And refusing, at the
 desire of the court, to go into voluntary banish-
 ment, they sentenced him to be disfranchised 1637.
 and banished the jurisdiction. John Coggeshall, ^{disfranchised and banished.}
 one of the late Boston deputies of this party, John Coggeshall ^{disfranchised.}
 was disfranchised for a speech he made in the
 court, notwithstanding his pleading his privilege
 as a member. And Aspin, another of them,
 for signing a remonstrance in favour of Wheel-
 wright, was disfranchised and banished. Wil-
 liam Baulston and Edward Hutchinson, two of
 the serjeants of Boston, for signing the said re-
 monstrance, were turned out of their places,
 disfranchised and fined, the former in 20l. the
 latter in 40l. Hutchinson acknowledging his
 fault had his fine remitted. The exiles found a
 friendly reception with Roger Williams before-
 mentioned at Providence for the present, and
 afterwards purchased a settlement at * Rhode-
 Island

* As Neale, from whom I take this account, follows
 Cotton Mather, an apologist for these severities, there is reason
 to suspect his relation of partiality; if we had accounts on the
 other side to balance against this, I doubt not but these pro-
 ceedings would appear in even a more unfavourable light. Of
 these first settlers in Rhode-Island he copies this character from
 Mather. Cotton Mather represents them as a generation of
Familiists, Libertines, Antinomians and Quakers, whose posterity
 for want of schools of learning and a public ministry, are
 become so barbarous as not to be capable of speaking either
 good English or good sense. They have an extreme aversion
 to a public ministry, and would never till of late allow any
 such to preach among them. This seems the language of
 animosity and contempt; but I have before me a very different
 description of these Rhode-Islanders drawn up by a more
 judicious pen in my opinion: “ Several slips, torn from the
 “ original government of New-England, planted themselves
 “ in

CHAP. Island of the natives, and fixed themselves and families there.

XIV.

1637.

Ann Hutchinson.

The treatment of a female, whose name was Ann Hutchinson, was even more severe, and her fate more melancholy. The account Neale gives of her case exhibits much of the invective style throughout, being probably copied after the New England apologists, and her imputed errors in the highest colouring to palliate the severities of the persecuting priests and magistrates. Yet we find no crime laid to her charge, only speculative opinions, which, if erroneous, more properly demanded the labours of the ministers to confute and convince her, than the power of the magistrate to chastise. Her case is represented to be this:

The members of the church of Boston met once a week, to repeat the sermons they had heard at their public worship, and to debate upon the doctrines contained in them. These meetings being peculiar to the men, some zealous women thought it might be useful for them to hold such meetings among themselves; accordingly this Ann Hutchinson set up one in her house, grounding her practice on the apostle's

"in a new soil and spread over the country; such was that
 "of Rhode-Island, whose inhabitants were driven out from
 "the Massachusetts colony (for that is the name by which the
 "government first erected in New-England was distinguished)
 "for supporting the freedom of religious sentiment, and main-
 "taining that the civil magistrate had no right over the spe-
 "culative opinions of mankind. These liberal men founded
 "a city, called Providence, which they governed by their
 "own principles; and such is the connection between justice
 "of principle and external prosperity; that the government
 "of Rhode Island, though small, is extremely populous and
 "flourishing." Guthrie.

tle's direction, for the elder women to teach the younger. The novelty of the undertaking, and the fame of the woman, quickly gained her a numerous audience, to hear her pray and repeat John Cotton's sermons, and make her reflections upon them. She adopted and propagated the devoted opinions of the Antinomians, which (the aforementioned author saith) under a pretence of exalting the free grace of God destroyed the practical part of religion, and opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness. But this was not all—she and her adherents insinuated themselves into families, and under a *show* of humility and self-denial, *craftily* undermined the reputation of the **best* ministers in the country, calling them *legalists*, † *Men that were not acquainted with the spirit of the gospel, nay, that were unacquainted with Christ himself*. For these offences she was summoned to appear before the court, by which she was condemned to banishment, being ordered to depart the jurisdiction within six months. She was afterwards excommunicated, with eight or nine more.

C H A P.
XIV.

1637.

Adopts Antinomian opinions.

Summoned before the court, and condemned to banishment.

Being thus driven from her habitation to seek a residence where she could find one, she removed

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moved

* Yet this author represents her as a great admirer of John Cotton, one of the best, if not the very best, minister at this time in New-England.

† That there was too much truth in this description of these ministers, we have reason to conclude from the foregoing abstract of W. Coddington's letter to R. Fretwell, p. 332, where we find the priests day after day exerting their efforts and earnest solicitations to procure a majority to banish her and the forementioned, which proceeding of theirs amounts to a demonstration that they *were not acquainted with the spirit of the gospel*.

C H A P. moved first to Rhode Island, and thence to one
 XIV. of the Dutch plantations called Hebgate, where
 1637. soon after the Indians coming down, murdered
 Murdered her and her whole family, to the number of
 by the In- sixteen persons.
 dians.

1646.

^d In 1646 they made a law or order for uniformity in religion, by imposing a penalty of 5s. a week upon such as came not to hear the established ministers, thus intrenching themselves against any further discoveries of truth and religion by this penal law.

But notwithstanding these harsh precautions to maintain an uniformity, they found other men influenced by religious considerations, to take the same liberty here they themselves had done in England, to dissent from their established religion, as they had done from that of the bishops. In the year 1650 some of the inhabitants adopted the opinion of the Anabaptists, withdrew from the established worship, and set up a separate meeting, whereupon Obadiah Holmes, one of the principal dissenters, was excommunicated, and then summoned to appear before the court at Plymouth, by which he and his associates were commanded to desist from their separation, and neither to ordain officers, nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor to meet on the first days of the week; but looking on this command as an arbitrary violation of their christian liberty, they pleaded, that in their separation they were actuated by the conviction of their own consciences, and that it was better to obey God than man.

1650.
 Some of the
 people turn
 Anabaptists
 and are per-
 secuted.

John

John Clarke from Rhode Island, Obadiah Holmes afore said, and John Crandall, sometime after travelling into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were apprehended in their meeting at the house of William Witters of Lynn, on the first day of the week; and the constable who had them in custody, in the afternoon carried them by compulsion to the public worship, where, signifying they could not join with them in their service, they were next day brought before a magistrate, who committed them to Boston prison by the following mittimus:

CHAP.
XIV.

1651.

“ By virtue hereof you are required to take
 “ into your custody from the constable of
 “ Lynn or his deputy, the bodies of John
 “ Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall,
 “ and them to keep until the next county
 “ court to be held at Boston, that they may
 “ then and there answer to such complaints as
 “ may be alledged against them, for being
 “ taken by the constable at a private meeting
 “ at Lynn on the Lord’s day, exercising among
 “ themselves, to whom divers of the town re-
 “ paired, and joined with them, and that in
 “ the time of public exercise of the worship
 “ of God; as also for offensively disturbing
 “ the peace of the congregation, at their
 “ coming into the public meeting in the time
 “ of prayer in the afternoon, and for saying
 “ and manifesting that the church of Lynn was
 “ not constituted according to the order of our
 “ Lord; and for such other things as shall be
 “ alledged against them concerning their se-
 “ ducing and drawing aside of others after
 “ their erroneous judgment and practices, and
 “ for suspicion of having their hands in re-bap-
 “ tizing

John Clarke,
Obadiah
Holmes and
John Cran-
dall com-
mitted to
prison.

C H A P. "tizing of one or more among us, as also for
 XIV. "neglecting or refusing to give in sufficient
 1651. "security for their appearance at the said court.
 "Hereof fail not at your peril. 22d of the 5th
 "month, 1651.

"Robert Bridges.

"To the keeper of the prison at Boston."

Holmes
 whipped,
 and two of
 his friends
 fined.

In a short time after their commitment they were brought before the court and fined, viz. John Clarke 20l. John Crandall 5l. and Obadiah Holmes 30l.; and in case of failure or refusal of payment to be whipped. The prisoners agreed not to pay their fines, but to abide the corporal punishment the court had sentenced them to; but it is said some of Clarke's friends paid the fine, without his consent; Crandall was released upon promise to appear at the next general court, and Holmes received thirty lashes at the whipping post. After the execution of his sentence, two of his friends who were attending him back to prison took him by the hand into the market place, and praised the Almighty for his courage and constancy, for which they were summoned before the general court the next day, and fined each of them 40s. or to be whipped; they also refused to pay their fines, but these being paid for them they were dismissed.

Remark.

I imagine those historians who have celebrated the Independents for originally adopting the doctrine of toleration must have been unacquainted with, or overlooked this part of their history. If their principles were really such as we have seen them described, that every man had

had a right to direct his conscience, and interpret the scriptures according to his own light, &c. we see their practice in England, and still more here, as being more out of the reach of censure or controul, evidently militating against these principles. We see them, as well as others before them, for the sake of uniformity, violating the natural rights of mankind, and punishing men, not for disturbing the state, but merely for differing in their sentiments of religion, of which the following law, enacted at this time and on this occasion, is a confirming evidence :

“ It is ordered by this court and authority thereof, that if any person or persons within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war or punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.”

C H A P.
XIV.

1651.

Law against
Anabap-
tists.

C H A P. XV.

Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, two of the People called Quakers, arrive at Boston.—Order concerning them.—Their Books burned, and they themselves imprisoned.—Stripped and searched for Tokens of being Witches.—Eight more Friends arrive at Boston.—First Law against Quakers.—Nicholas Upsal testifies against it, for which he is fined and banished.—Anne Burdon, Mary Clarke, and three others whipped.—Addition to the Law. Lawrence and Cassandra Southick and their Son Josiah whipped.—William Shattock sent to the House of Correction, whipped and banished.—Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh.—Thomas Harris imprisoned and cruelly whipped.—Second Law against Quakers.—Barbarous Treatment of William Brend.—The People discontented at this Cruelty.—The Magistrates endeavour to appease them.—Priest Norton takes the Jailor's Part.—Samuel Shattock, Lawrence Southick and others committed to Prison.—Their Letter to the Magistrates.

C H A P. ^{XV} **B**Y this retrospective view of the first inhabitants of New England, it is clearly manifest, that a persecuting spirit had found admission amongst these refugees from persecution, long before any of the people called Quakers came into those parts, and did not originate from any necessity occasioned by their extravagant principles or practices, as the New England apologists represent them.

1651.

We have seen the inimical disposition of the
priests and ruling powers in England, and their
inveterate prejudice toward this people; these
being many of them of the independent class,
doubtless kept up a correspondence with their
brethren in New England, and it is probable
filled their letters of intelligence with invectives
against the Quakers; for it is manifest they had
received an unreasonable prejudice against them
before ever they saw their faces; and had con-
demned their principles as *heretical*, before they
had any fair opportunity of knowing what these
principles were.

C H A P.

XV.

1651.

But buoyed up as they were with the high
notion of their own righteousness, and the ulti-
mate refinedness of their religion, they seemed
fixed in the determination to give no admission
to any other doctrines, than those which their
magistrates, under the influence of their teach-
ers and synods, thought proper to establish. No
sooner was the intelligence given of two female
Quakers, Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, being
arrived from Barbadoes, in the road before
Boston, than Richard Bellingham, the deputy
governor, immediately ordered them to be de-
tained on board, and dispatched officers to search
their trunks and chests, who taking away about
one hundred books, carried them ashore. On
this extraordinary occasion, as Neal terms it, a
council extraordinary was convened by the
governor, as if to provide for the security of
the state against the alarming danger threatening
it from the arrival of two harmless women,
which issued the following order :

1656.

Anne Austin
and Mary
Fisher ar-
rive at Bos-
ton.

“ At

CHAP.
XV.

“ At a council held at Boston 11th July,
“ 1756.

1656.

“ Whereas there are several laws long since
“ made and published in this jurisdiction,
“ bearing testimony against *hereticks* and *erro-*
“ *neous persons* ; yet notwithstanding *Simon*
“ *Kemphorn* of *Charles-town*, master of the
“ ship *Swallow* of *Boston*, hath brought into
“ this jurisdiction, from the island of *Barba-*
“ *does*, two women, who name themselves,
“ *Anne*, the wife of one *Austin*, and *Mary Fisher*,
“ being of that sort of people commonly known
“ by the name of *Quakers*, who upon exami-
“ nation are found not only to be transgressors
“ of the former laws, but to hold very dange-
“ rous, *heretical* and blasphemous opinions ;
“ and they do also acknowledge that they came
“ here purposely to propagate their said errors
“ and *heresies*, bringing with them and spread-
“ ing here sundry books, wherein are contained
“ most corrupt, *heretical* and blasphemous
“ doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel
“ *here* professed amongst us. The council there-
“ fore tendering the preservation of the peace,
“ and truth enjoyed and professed among the
“ churches of Christ in this country, do hereby
“ order :

“ *First*, That all such corrupt books as shall
“ be found upon search to be brought in and
“ spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith
“ burned and destroyed by the common execu-
“ tioner.

“ *Secondly*, That the said *Anne* and *Mary* be
“ kept in close prison, and none admitted com-
“ munication

“ munication with them without leave from
 “ the governor, deputy governor or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard of some vessel, to be transported out of the country.

C H A P.
 XV.

1656.

“ *Thirdly*, The said *Simon Kemphorn* is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment; and for the effectual performance hereof he is to give security in a bond of 100*l.* sterling, and on his refusal to give such security he is to be committed to prison till he do it.”

In consequence of this order their books were burned by the hangman, and the said two women were committed to prison by the deputy governor as Quakers, upon no other proof than that one of them said *thee* to him, where their confinement was so rigorous that no body was admitted to converse with them, even through the window. Their pens, ink and paper were taken from them, and they were debarred the use of a candle by night. Next, in violation of every rule of decency, modesty and humanity, they stripped them naked, under the pretence of searching for tokens of their being witches*, and misused them in this search

Their books
 burned and
 themselves
 imprisoned.

Stripped
 and search-
 ed for
 witches.

in

* These people, so ready to load the Quakers with reproachful epithets, and impute the original of their religion to a spirit of delusion, were themselves given up to strong and fatal delusions in respect to witchcraft, which some time after affected them so universally that the magistrates, priests and

CHAP. in a shameful and barbarous manner. They
 XV.
 1656. were not only debarred of light and conversation, but in a great measure of sustenance also, which exciting the compassion of Nicholas Upsal, an ancient inhabitant of Boston, he purchased of the jailer the liberty of sending them provisions, at the extravagant rate of 5s. per week, for fear they should be starved. After about five weeks confinement, one William Chichester, master of a vessel, was bound in a bond of 100l. to carry them back to Barbadoes. And the jailer kept their beds and their bible for his fees.

A few days after the departure of these women, viz. on the 7th of the month called August,

and people of all ranks contributed to spread the mischievous deception so far as to introduce general confusion and dismay; and after their hands were tied up from hanging of Quakers, they hanged one another for witchcraft and sorcery on vague accusations. Not by the misguided fury of a superstitious populace; but with all the formalities of a solemn trial, by the hands of the common executioner nineteen persons of both sexes suffered death in little more than three months time; eleven more lay under condemnation, and one hundred and fifty in prison untried. Most of these unhappy persons asserted their innocence of the matters laid to their charge to the last, many of them appear to have been of reputable lives and circumstance in the world. And the principal tokens of fascination recorded in their history appear to be in the prosecutors, the judges and the jury, who could condemn to death so many innocent persons upon such idle tales and senseless absurdities as were given in evidence against them; and after all, when the people were so far restored to their senses as to make public recantation of their erroneous proceedings, their justice went no farther than words. The accused persons, being some of them people of property, had all their effects seized by the officers, of which afterwards, even those, whose innocency was acknowledged, could never recover any, or but a very inconsiderable part.

Neal

August, eight others of the same persuasion, CHAP. XV.
 namely, ^d Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Witherhead and Dorothy Waugh, arrived at Boston from London, in a ship whereof Robert Locke was master. He would not suffer them to go on shore, till he had delivered a list of their names to the governor, who sent officers on board to search their boxes, chests and trunks for books, and to bring those eight, together with Richard Smith, an inhabitant of Long Island, before the court, then sitting at Boston. After some examination they were sentenced to banishment, and to be detained in prison till they might be sent back in the same ship, the master whereof was required to give security to take them back at his own charge, which he refusing, was committed to prison, but after some days confinement, fearing the loss of his voyage, he complied. They were detained in prison about eleven weeks, the jailer being empowered to search their boxes, &c. as often as he saw meet, for pen, ink and paper, papers and books, and take them away. While they were in prison a law was made to punish them, being the first general law made against *Quakers*.

1656.
 Eight more
 friends ar-
 rive at Bos-
 ton.

By this law it was enacted, that if any master or commander of any ship, bark, &c. should thenceforth bring into any harbour in their jurisdiction any *Quakers*, he should pay the sum of 100l. to the treasurer of the country, or be imprisoned 'till the payment should be made or secured. That any *Quaker* coming into the country should be committed to the house

First law
 against
Quakers.

CHAP.

XV.

1656.

house of correction, severely whipped, constantly kept to hard labour, and debarred of all intercourse with any person whatever. Importers of Quakers' books or writings, or whoever should disperse or conceal such, to be fined 5l. If any inhabitants of the Colony defended the books or opinions of the Quakers, they were to be fined 40s.; for the second offence 4l. and for the third to be banished.

Remark.

The uncharitable and unchristian temper, which actuated these colonial legislators, is not more obvious in the severity of the penalties enacted against this body of people and their adherents, than in the illiberal, reviling expressions and opprobrious nicknames whereby they are described as a *curled sect of hereticks, blasphemous hereticks, who hold devilish opinions*: Such terms of reproach are by men of candour and moderation generally looked upon not so much a picture of the qualities of those they are applied to, as of the intemperate bitterness of their spirits, who debase themselves so far as to make use thereof.

Nicholas
Upshal testifies against
the law,

The law being proclaimed by beat of drum in the streets of Boston, Nicholas Upshal aforesaid, being affected thereat, publicly testified his disapprobation, for which being next morning sent for to the general court, he told them, *The execution of that law would be a forerunner of a judgment upon the country, and therefore in love and tenderness, which he bore to the people and place, desired them to take heed, lest they were found fighters against God.* * For this he, though
one

* Neal, notwithstanding his laying claim to the character of impartiality, on this and many other occasions, betrays a manifest

one of their Church-members, and of a blameless conversation, was fined twenty pounds, and three pounds more for not coming to church, from which he had withdrawn, out of a conscientious dissent from a religion without charity.

CHAP.
XV.
1656.

They next banished him their jurisdiction, allowing him, who was an infirm ancient man, but one month for his departure, driving him into exile in the winter. Application being made to Endicot for a mitigation of his fine, he rudely answered, *I will not 'bate him a groat.* He removed to Rhode-island, where he met with that hospitality and compassion from an Indian Prince, and a Pagan, which was refused from his countrymen, pretending to refined christianity, who kindly invited him to fix his residence with him, and he would make him a warm house, adding his admiration at the *Englishmen's nation of the divine being, who dealt so cruelly with one another about their God.*

————— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.*

That such reproaches stain the christian name,
And stain with reason, is the christian's shame.

The

manifest partiality in favour of this government, and thus apologizes for their cruel treatment of this ancient man.
“ This was looked upon as an attack upon the legislature,
“ which might be attended with fatal consequences ; for if
“ people might arraign the laws of their country in such an
“ open manner, the authority of the government would be
“ quickly destroyed.”

CHAP.

XV.

1657.

Ann Burden going to Boston to recover some debts, is imprisoned and banished.

The first of this people who came to New-England, after the making of this law, was Ann Burden, widow, who although no preacher, nor administering any occasion of offence, or any cause of being termed a disturber of church or state, being an honest inoffensive woman, coming over on the reasonable errand of recovering or gathering in some debts due to her in that country; yet she was taken up, and carried before Bellingham, the deputy governor, who upon examining her, although it was manifest, she had lawful business, and he could find no fault or occasion of offence in her, only as she was a Quaker, he said that *she must abide their law*, and committed her to prison, where she was detained a quarter of a year, though sick at the same time. During her imprisonment, some of her acquaintance had procured of her debts in goods to the value of about forty pounds, which, when she was ordered to be sent away, she desired liberty to carry with her to Barbadoes, to be disposed of, being not fit for the English market; this reasonable request was denied her, and a master of a ship compelled to carry her to England, against her will and without her goods. And when he enquired who should pay for her passage, the magistrates bade him *take so much of her goods as would satisfy him*:^e Which however he would not do, having so much dependance on her honesty, that though he could not compel her to pay, as she was sent away without her own consent, yet that she would not let him be a loser, and he was not disappointed in his expectation.

^e Bessé, v. ii. p. 181.

^f Bessé. Sewel.

pectation. But after her departure, the officers took away from the person intrusted to convey her goods to Barbadoes, as many as were worth 6l. 10s. for her passage, which not they, but herself had paid: 7s. for boat-hire, although the master had offered to take her in his own boat, and 14s. for the jailer. Thus banished, and spoiled of a considerable part of her property, and deprived of the possession and disposing of the residue, no part whereof had come to her hands several years after, if at all.

^s The next of the Quakers who came to Boston, and suffered the extremity of the law, was Mary Clark, from London, who came thither under a religious concern to warn those persecutors to desist from their iniquity. She delivered her message to merciless men, who rewarded her with twenty stripes of a * three corded whip on her naked back, and detained her in prison about twelve weeks. ^b Christopher Holder and John Copeland, with others who had been banished, under a firm persuasion of duty and full assurance of faith in divine support, under whatsoever suffering they might be permitted to pass through, having returned, were whipped with thirty stripes each, the executioner measuring his ground, and inflicting the strokes with all his strength, which cut their flesh so severely, that a woman fainted away at the sight. After this they were kept three days without food or water, so close that none might speak with them, lodging on the bare boards, without bed or straw.

CHAP.
XV.
1657.

Mary Clark,
Christopher
Holder and
John Cope-
land severely
whipped.

New Eng-
land judg-
ed.

^s Besse, v. ii. p. 181.

* The cords of these whips were usually as thick as a man's little finger, and the stick sometimes so long that the executioner made use of both his hands to strike with it.

^b Sewel.

CHAP. straw. In this miserable confinement, they remained nine weeks, without fire, in the cold winter season. Richard Dowdney was taken up at Dedham, and brought to Boston, and though he had not been there before, was also punished with thirty cruel stripes, and sent away with the former two, with threats of *cutting off their ears* in case they returned, which threats they afterwards made good.

XV.
1657.
Richard
Dowdney
whipped.

At the general court held in Boston the 14th of October, this year, they made the following addition to the former law: "That if any person should entertain any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous hereticks, knowing them so to be, every such person should forfeit to the country 40s. for every hour's entertaining or concealment, and be committed to prison till the forfeiture be fully paid and satisfied. If any Quakers should presume, after they had once suffered the law, to return into their jurisdiction, if a male, he should have one of his ears cut off for the first offence; the other ear for the second offence; if a female to be severely whipped for the first offence; the like punishment to be repeated for the second. Both male and female moreover to be sent to the house of correction, and kept to hard labour till they can be sent away at their own charge. For the third offence their tongues were to be bored through with an hot iron. That every Quaker arising from among themselves should be dealt with, and suffer the like punishments as the law provides against foreign Quakers."

Addition to
the law.

1658. These several persecuting laws were not suffered to lie as a dead letter, but the same wrathful

wrathful and vindictive spirit, which had dictated them, was manifested in the unmerciful execution thereof: No age, no sex, no circumstance could move these unmerciful persecutors to compassion; but the objects of their spoiling, imprisoning or whipping furnished them almost daily employ. To recite at full length all the instances of their cruelty would be tedious and disgusting; a summary review will evidence the truth of this description.

¹The severities already inflicted on the members of this society, had so affected many of the inhabitants of this colony, that they withdrew from their public assemblies, and met on the first day of the week to worship quietly by themselves, for which they were fined 5s. per week, and imprisoned. Particularly Laurence and Cassandra Southick, an aged couple (who in the last year had been imprisoned and fined for entertaining Christopher Holder and John Copeland) with their son Josiah, were sent to the house of correction, whipped in like manner as those before mentioned, and had their goods taken to the value of 4l. 15s. for not coming to church. For the same cause Edward Harnet, aged sixty-nine, and his wife, seventy-three years of age, had 37s. taken from them, without regard to their circumstances, which were but mean, or their age, which would naturally excite tendernefs.

William Shattock a shoe-maker, ^{*}being found on a first day of the week, quietly sitting alone in his own house, in the time of their worship, and being too poor to pay the 5s. a week, was sent

CHAP.
XV.
1657.

Laurence
and Cas-
sandra
Southick
and their
son Josiah
whipped
and fined.

Edward
Harnet.

William
Shattock
sent to the
house of
correction,
whipped
and banish-
ed.

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Z

sent

CHAP. sent to the house of correction, cruelly whipped,
 XV. and then kept to hard labour, the profits whereof
 the jailer detained to his own use, leaving his
 1657. family, a wife and four small children, who
 had nothing but their labour to subsist on, in
 want. At last he had only three days time as-
 signed him, to depart out of their jurisdiction,
 to which hard condition he was necessitated, in
 order to be in a capacity to support himself
 and family, to submit. Sarah^a Gibbons and
 Dorothy Waugh, for speaking a few words at
 the conclusion of one of their lectures in Bos-
 ton, were also sent to the house of correction,
 kept three days without any food; they were then
 cruelly whipped, and kept three days longer with-
 out victuals, although they offered to purchase
 them. Sarah, when brought before Endicott and
 the court, at the end of the first three days, re-
 monstrating against the jailer's cruelty, received
 no redress from this tyrannical governor, but an
 ill-natured reply, that *he mattered not*.

1658.
 Thomas
 Harris im-
 prisoned
 and cruelly
 whipped.

^a Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, in the public
 meeting place at Boston, after the priest had
 done, having warned the people of *the dreadful,*
terrible day of the Lord, which was coming upon
that town and country, was presently hauled out
 by the hair of the head, and sent to prison,
 where he was shut up in a close room, excluded
 like the rest from all company. Next day he
 was cruelly whipped, and then shut up eleven
 days more, five of which he was kept without
 bread, because he refused to work for the jailer,
 and probably had been starved, had not some
 humane people privately conveyed him some
 food through the window by night. Reduced
 to

to great weakness by long fasting and the torture of whipping, the jailer inured to cruelty and unfeeling barbarity, insisted on his working (although disabled by his abusive treatment) and upon his refusal, gave him, weak as he was, twenty-two blows with a pitched rope, and some days after fifteen stripes with a three corded whip*.

CHAP.
XV.

1658.

On

* I think Neal's relation of this poor man's case demands some animadversions. "Harris (says he) like the rest of his brethren, would not strike a stroke in prison, *he would suffer for any thing, but do nothing*; nay so stubborn were he and his friends that they would neither pay the fines that were laid upon them, nor be at the charge of transporting themselves out of the country." This author professes to give an *impartial* account of the affairs of New England, to treat the *↑* MISTAKES which the government fell into with regard to the Quakers and Anabaptists with freedom. But I think this and many other passages of his work, nay the general turn of expression through the whole narration of their treatment of the Quakers, and Anabaptists also, betrays a partial bias. Small blemishes (for argument's sake admitting them such) on one side exaggerated with severe acrimony on the other, softened in palliative terms, are no instances of impartiality; but manifest the writer to be under the influence of an undue prepossession in favour of a party. The forecited reflections appear to me evidently partial and unfair. These original Quakers moved in a sphere superior to the walk, or even the conception of, the persecuting professors of religion, however ostentatious, or that of the wise men of this world, however puffed up by their knowledge, without charity: It was their solicitous and unremitted endeavour to trace out the plain way to heaven through all attendant afflictions and tribulations on earth, even that way which the vulture's eye hath not seen nor any ravenous beast, nor persecuting spirit trodden in; but wherein the way-faring man though a fool shall not err. Careful and circumspect to do no evil, and sincerely disposed to

Z 2

obey

CHAP. On the 20th of 3d month this year, another
 XV. law was made, which as a specimen of the tem-
 1658. per,

obey the will of God, as the means of finding peace and acceptance with him; in obedience to his requirings, as they in the sincerity of their hearts believed, they were engaged to go to and fro, to propagate righteousness, and to convince the professors of christianity of the insecurity of trusting in any profession of *religion without holiness*. Conscious of the purity and disinterestedness of their motive, and in the discharge of duty, endeavouring to keep a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man, they justly thought these New-England laws founded in injustice, and the penalties inflicted with inhumanity, a palpable infringement of the universal laws of God and nature: They knew themselves to be innocent of just offence to God or man; in this view to be active in their own punishment, they thought a tacit acquiescence and confession of guilt, which their consciences witnessed they were free from: As faithful martyrs they patiently *suffered any thing*, that unreasonable men invested with arbitrary power might be permitted to lay upon them, for their open testimony to the truth, or against error; *but they would do nothing* that might imply an acknowledgement of guiltiness of any crime, which they believed themselves in no degree guilty of; And what in this conduct is justly blameable? It was the only way left them under the administration of unequal rule to assert their innocence, to keep the reputation of that truth they maintained, their conversation and their consciences unspotted, which was a concern nearer to their hearts, than to rescue their bodies from torture.

This author should have first demonstrated the laws to be reasonable and just, before he censured these men for declining a voluntary submission thereto; whereas the unreasonableness thereof was so palpable, that he cannot help owning it in different places: Yet from his manner of expression, it seems as if admitted of no dispute, that it was both reasonable and equitable that they should pay the fines imposed upon them for no other crime than their religious dissent from the establishment, and absenting from their public worship, which to have voluntarily done, would be a tacit acknowledgement of error in their dissent. He should have proved this a crime, before he condemned their non-compliance with the punishment; but he

per, the measure of charity and urbanity actuating this legislature, take at length as follows.

CHAP.
XV.

1658.

"At a Court at Boston the 20th of May, 1658.

"That *Quakers* and such ACCURSED HERE-
 "TICKS, arising among ourselves, may be dealt
 "with according to their deserts, and their * *pesti-*
 "lent errors and practices may be speedily pre-
 "vented,

Second law
against
Quakers.

he could not do this without condemning their persecutors also, whom he justifies under the same circumstance. To tax them with stubbornness in refusing so unjust a requisition as to pay the charges of their own transportation out of the country, is so absurd, so contrary to reason and every natural and humane rule that it needs no refutation; and yet he censures them for this, as if it were their indispensable moral duty. He goes on, "They were as perverse and obstinate in prison, as out of it, insomuch that the jailer was forced to lay the case before the magistrates, who ordered him to whip them twice a week, &c. But Harris and his friends were not to be tamed by these methods, but resolved to die rather than submit, and one of them was almost whipped to death upon this order; but when Harris had suffered a second whipping, some of his friends paid his charges, and so he was dismissed. And this became afterwards the usual practice of the Quakers not to pay their own fees, but to suffer others to do it for them."

* Pestilent errors and practices, diabolical doctrines.] These are no more than hard names, without application or other meaning, than that the framers had imbibed an intemperate and undeserved bitterness of spirit against this people, without due examination into their principles or practices. If they were so pestilent, pernicious and diabolical, they were the more easily exposed and refuted. And their pastors (so termed) had manifested a more becoming zeal, in exercising christian endeavours to preserve their flocks from infection, by pious exhortations, by exposing the ill consequence of their *pernicious ways*, and refuting their diabolical doctrines, than by applying to the secular power to repress by violence, doctrines which they were unable or too idle to refute by argument.

CHAP.

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1658.

vented, it is hereby ordered, as an addition to the former laws against Quakers, That every such person or persons professing their *pernicious ways*, by speaking, writing, or meeting on the Lord's day, or at any other time, to strengthen themselves, or seduce others to their *diabolical doctrines*, shall after due means of conviction incur the penalty ensuing, that is, every person so meeting shall pay to the country for every time 10s.; and every one speaking in such meeting shall pay 5l. a-piece; and in case any such persons had been punished by scourging or whipping the first time, according to the former laws, they shall still be kept at work in the house of correction till they put in security, by two sufficient men, that they shall not vent their hateful errors, nor use their sinful practices; or else shall depart the jurisdiction at their own charges: And if any of them return again, then each such person shall incur the penalties of the laws formerly made for strangers."

Barbarous
treatment
of William
Brend.

But of all the instances of barbarous cruelty that in the records of this furious government disgust the tender feelings of humanity, the treatment of William Brend is scarcely exceeded, if not unparalleled, in the history of civilized government.

In the latter part of the 5th month this year, William Brend and William Leddra at the house of Robert Adams in Newbury, by desire of the inhabitants, had a conference with a priest, in the presence of one captain Gerish, who had promised them protection from suffering for that conference; yet because they did not comply with his orders to depart the town immediately,

ly, †, he violated his engagement in sending them, CHAP. by a constable to Salem, where being inter-
 ro-
 gated by the magistrates, *Whether they were* XV.
Quakers? they answered, *We are in scorn called*
 so. Then it was objected to them, *that they held* 1658.
dangerous errors, as denying Christ, who suffered
death at Jerusalem, and the scriptures. Boldly
 contradicting this charge, they asserted that,
They owned Jesus Christ, who suffered death at
Jerusalem, and owned the scriptures also. Not-
 withstanding their denial of this false accusation,
 and the confession of the magistrates, that they
 found no evil in them, they were committed to
 prison there, and thence transmitted to the house
 of correction in Boston, where they were re-
 quired to work; but they being not free to sub-
 mit to this requisition, as being convicted of no
 crime, the jailer, who sought his gains from their
 labour, would allow them no victuals, though
 they offered to pay for them, telling them, *it was*
not their money, but their work which he wanted.
 Five days they were kept from food, and then
 received twenty stripes with the three-corded
 whip. Some time after he let them know, *they*
were at liberty to depart, upon paying their fees,
and hiring the marshal to conduct them out of the
country. This unreasonable condition they were
 not free to comply with, but signified their wil-
 lingness to accept their liberty, if it were freely
 granted.

Next day this most cruel and inhuman jailer
 put William Brend, a man in years, in irons,
 neck and heels so close together, that there was
 only room for the lock that fastened them, and
 kept

† Quere, How far was this different from the tenet, held
 in abhorrence by all Protestants, That no faith is to be kept
 with hereticks?

CHAP. kept him in this painful posture from five in the morning till after nine at night, above sixteen hours. Next morning he insisted on William's falling to work for him, disabled by the preceding cruel treatment, which he refused to do, whereupon this * brutal jailer took a pitched rope, about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms with all his strength till the rope untwisted : Then he fetched another rope thicker and stronger, and with the utmost violence, foaming at the mouth with passion to distraction, laid on his bruised body fourscore and seventeen blows more, by the report of other prisoners, who with grief and compassion beheld this cruel abuse of an honest man, who had done nothing worthy of bonds, till his strength and his rope failed him, and the poor man's back and arms were so reduced to one gore of blood, that the sign of a particular blow could not be distinguished, he desisted not ; and even then desisted with passionate menaces of repeating equal cruelty the next day. But he had already gone too far ; an higher power, who limits the raging sea,

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* What is most amazing, this jailer, so destitute of every symptom of humanity, was a pretender to religion, and was careful that very morning, after satiating his vengeance on this poor man, to address himself to his *morning prayer* ; but to what purpose, the prophet *Isaiah*, in the name of the Almighty, in the following strong reproof, hath plainly declared, "*When you make many prayers, I will not hear : your hands are full of blood.*" Such a religion afforded just grounds for the following reproof of Humphrey Norton, delivered at the close of one of their lectures : " Verily, this is the sacrifice which the Lord accepts not ; for while with the same spirit that ye sin, ye preach, and pray and sing, that sacrifice is an abomination to the Lord ;" for which he received his fifteen lashes instead of ten.

fea, saying, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther," here set bounds to the raging fury of this barbarous executor of vengeance, by raising help from an unexpected quarter.

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I have already apprised my readers, that in my remarks on the present ruling powers, I mean not to throw reflections on any body of people; but only persecutors and fomenters of persecution. I am persuaded that, amidst too much insincerity in the profession of religion, while the grasping at undue exercise of temporal authority was the end in view, there were multitudes among the independents, who were more sincerely religious, and secretly regretted the extremities, to which these rulers stretched their authority. In the present case, the persevering inhumanity of this jailer towards this inoffensive sufferer had so far exhausted his natural strength, that he fell down under his hands so extremely weakened, that for some time he lost his sight, hearing and feeling, turned quite cold, and had about him all the symptoms of a dying man.

The noise of this cruelty getting abroad, the murmurs of the people broke out into a general outcry against it, which caused the governor to send his surgeon to the prison to examine his condition, who, despairing of his recovery, reported, that *the flesh would rot off his bones, ere the bruised parts could be brought to digest*. This report exasperated the people to that degree, that the magistrates, to appease them and prevent a tumult, set up a paper at the meeting-house doors and other public places, signifying their dislike of this abominable cruelty; and that *the jailer should be dealt with at the next court day*. But this paper was soon after taken down at the instigation of their chief priest, John Norton, a principal

The people discontented at this cruelty.

The magistrates endeavour to appease them.

Priest Norton takes the jailer's part.

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principal promoter of the persecution from the beginning, who on this occasion manifested himself as destitute of common humanity, as of christian charity, in the following cruel, unjust and unmeaning parallel between the sufferer and the pretended cause of his suffering, *William Brend* (said he) *endeavoured to beat our gospel ordinances black and blue; if then he be beaten black and blue, it is but just upon him, and I will appear in his behalf that did it.* The ridiculous absurdity of this nonsensical reflection would only merit contempt, if the inveterate bitterness thereof, exciting to cruelty upon cruelty, did not extort abhorrence. It is therefore no cause of admiration, that under such teachers the magistrates, priest-ridden, and stimulated to rage by their inflammatory discourses, were so prompt to persecution; that blind zealots, led by blind guides, should with their leaders fall into the ditch of error, in treating with avenging wrath the promulgators of truth.

In the mean time *William Brend* miraculously recovering, the dissatisfaction of the people dying away, and the magistrates recovering from the panick into which the apprehension of his dying by the jailer's cruelty had thrown them, persisted in the same line of cruelty; instead of calling the jailer to account as they had promised, they strengthened his hands by the following order: "That the jailer, if the Quakers refused to work, should whip them twice a week, the first time with *ten* lashes, the next time with *fifteen*, and so each time with *three* more till they would work;" but to preserve some appearance of disposition to moderate the jailer's fury, they ordered that he should warn two constables to oversee

oversee the execution. This order was executed ^{C H A P.}
 and exceeded upon William Leddra *, Thomas ^{XV.}
 Harris, Humphrey Norton and John Rouse¹, ^{1658.}
 who

¹ Sewel.

* Neale goes on, (see note on T. Harris) "They were as
 " perverse and obstinate in prison as out of it, insomuch that
 " the jailer was forced to lay the case before the magistrates,
 " &c. &c." as in the note referred to.

"One of them was almost whipped to death." This was
 William Brend, above mentioned, whose particular grievous
 suffering he could hardly be ignorant of, as he quotes *Bishop's*
New Eng. judged, frequently, and consequently had read it,
 whose account corresponds with the preceding recital: Yet he
 briefly passes it over thus: "William Brend and William
 " Leddra were sent to the house of correction at Boston; and
 " having received ten lashes, were told they might have their
 " liberty, paying their fees, and hiring the marshal to convey
 " them out of the country; but they refused to depart, and
 " were therefore whipped more severely, till some of their
 " friends laid down the money, and so they were dis-
 " charged."

After reviewing my foregoing relation of the case of W.
 Brend, as I find it related by W. Sewel, Jos. Bessé, and in
New Eng. judged, which all in the general correspond, and
 which last was published near the time of these transactions,
 and the veracity thereof never called in question, that I have
 heard of: On comparing this narration of Neale's therewith,
 we plainly discover the partiality of his pen, passing over in
 silence, or slightly noticing in softened general terms, all the
 instances of their barbarity which shock humanity, to avoid
 exposing the memory of the perpetrators thereof to the infamy
 naturally attendant on such actions, or even to screen them
 from every imputation of guilt or blame, his relation bearing
 a complexion as if the unhappy sufferers were alone blameable.
 If his state of the case is not evidently very partial and unfair
 throughout, let the reader judge upon the comparison thereof
 with the account in the treatise, entitled *New England judged*,
 which he quotes in marginal references almost from page to
 page as his authority. Neale says, "after having received
 " ten lashes they were told they might have their liberty,
 " &c." which leads us naturally to imagine this offer was
 made them immediately after the whipping, which was not
 the

CHAP. who each of them received the first time fifteen stripes instead of ten; but we have no account of either jailer or constable being called to

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the case as represented in that treatise: * " Having whipped them, the jailer locked them up in a close room, dark and without air, in the hot summer season, from food and friend, till the fourth day following, (two days) then he told them they were *clear*, paying their fees (who owed him none) and hiring the marshal to convey them out of the country," (which they were not free to do, as having done nothing worthy of bonds or banishment.) But if they were *clear*, having suffered the penalty of their unauthorised inhospitable law, what right had this hypocritical jailer to inflict further punishment upon them? They were now in the most favourable light on his side, simply his debtors for a trifle, and what right could he, or the most strenuous apologist for him, claim beyond that of detaining them in prison for their debt unpunished, unrestrained from food, which they were willing to purchase but were not suffered. But after this, his declaring them *clear*, it was that William Brend *was whipped almost to death*, as before described. Neale's mutilated account of this transaction is to me a plain evidence of his partiality: He says, " one of them was almost whipped to death:" He had read Bishop's account, Why not tell who it was and how? Why pass over the sufferings of William Brend, when he undertakes to relate it in so cursory a manner, but to cover the cruelty of his persecutors and endeavour to fix a stigma on the poor man as the author of his own sufferings? " They refused to depart, and were therefore whipped more severely." This, by our account, is a false state of the case: They did not refuse, but signified their willingness to depart, if they might freely; but this was refused them, except on unreasonable terms, they could not in conscience comply with; neither can I discover upon what authority (for he cites none) he asserts " that their friends laid down the money, and so they were discharged." The authority he generally quotes says no such thing as to William Brend, and it is so contrary to the practice of these, I understand by *his friends*, that I shall believe it a misrepresentation, till I have stronger evidence of its truth than D. Neale's bare assertion.

The

* New-England judged, p. 64, 65.

CHAP. house of correction, during the heat of the summer, from their husbandry, after three weeks confinement, represented their case to the court in the following letter :

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“ This to the Magistrates at the Court in Salem.

“ Friends,

Letter from “
the prison- “
ers to the “
magistrates. “

“ Whereas it was your pleasure to commit us, whose names are under-written, to the house of correction in Boston, although the Lord, the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, is our witness that we have done nothing worthy of stripes or of bonds ; and we being committed by your court to be dealt withal as the law provides for foreign Quakers, as ye please to term us ; and having some of us suffered your law and pleasures, now that which we do expect is, That whereas we have suffered your law, so now to be set free by the same law, as your manner is with strangers, and not to put us in upon the account of one law, and execute another law upon us, of which according to your own manner we were never convicted, as the law expresses : If you had sent us upon the account of your new law, we should have expected the jailer’s order to have been on that account, which that it was not appears by the warrant which we have, and the punishment which we bare, as four of us were whipped, among whom was one that had formerly been whipped ; so now, according to your former law, friends, let it not be a small thing in your eyes, the exposing as much as in you lies, our families to ruin.

" It's not unknown to you, the season and the time of the year, for those that live of husbandry, and what their cattle and families may be exposed unto; and also such as live on trade: We know, if the spirit of Christ did dwell and rule in you these things would take impression on your spirits. What our lives and conversations have been in that place is well known; and what we now suffer for, is much for false reports, and ungrounded jealousies of *heresy* and *sedition*. These things lie upon us to lay before you: As for our parts, we have true peace and rest in the Lord in all our sufferings, and are made willing in the power and strength of God, freely to offer up our lives in this cause of God, for which we suffer: Yea, and we do find (through grace) the enlargements of God in our imprisoned state, to whom alone we commit ourselves and families, for the disposing of us according to his infinite wisdom and pleasure, in whose love is our rest and life.

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" From the house of bondage
 " in Boston, wherein we are
 " made captives by the wills
 " of men, although made
 " free by the Son. John 8.
 " 36. In which we quietly
 " rest, this 16th of the 5th
 " 1658.

" *Laurence Southick,*
 " *Cassandra Southick,*
 " *Josiah Southick,*
 " *Samuel Shattock,*
 " *Josbua Buffum.*"

Upon

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Again com-
mitted to
prison and
punished
various
ways.

Upon this representation Samuel Shattock and Joshua Buffum were released, but the other three arbitrarily detained in prison. It was not long till those who had been released were sent back to rejoin their former companions in prison, for absenting from their public meetings, and meeting by themselves contrary to law; for which they were each fined by the court at Ipswich 5s. for absenting from their worship by the law of 1646, and 10s. each for meeting by themselves. After this they proceeded to condemn them to punishment upon their last law against Quakers, as being such, Upon which they demanded a fair trial by a jury, and evidence to prove them such as that law described, viz. *curst hereticks, who hold blasphemous opinions, and promulgate diabolical doctrines*; but this just demand would not be granted: Broadstreet intimating the court would find out an easier way to discover a Quaker than by *blasphemy*, (a confession which it was easier to charge than to prove) so concluding them Quakers from appearing with their hats on, the court, without any further proof or enquiry, sentenced them to be whipped with ten stripes a piece. About three weeks after they were brought before the general court at Boston. From which they repeated their demand of a fair trial, and received a second refusal; they remonstrated against the unjust punishments, which had been inflicted upon them; they refuted their charges; they maintained, beyond contradiction, that they had already suffered the punishments prescribed by their laws, and therefore had a just claim to their liberty: Although the court was in no wise inclined

inclined to admit their just claim, they were reduced to a nonplus, to find a pretext of any plausible complexion for adding punishments beyond law to the various penalties of their unrighteous laws. Wherefore they continued them in prison, to consider what further measures to take with them.

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The next day was their lecture day at Boston, at which Charles Chauncey, the president of their college or university, preached an occasional lecture for the purpose of furnishing a palliative for inflicting additional punishments upon them, by the following savage and uncharitable comparison: "Suppose ye should catch six wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now you have them they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain mark of wolves. Now I leave it to your consideration (said he) whether you will let them go alive, yea or nay?" Which strange reasoning applied, as intended, to the case of the prisoners, amounts to this: "You have six Quakers in your custody, and you have already punished them as far as the law authorizes you; you can prove nothing really criminal in their conduct, and their demeanour in your hands is inculpable: Yet they have the plain marks of Quakers, and therefore you are to consider, whether it be expedient to let them go after suffering the punishment of former laws,"

Lecture,
at which
Charles
Chauncey
preaches an
occasional
sermon.

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A a

" or

M A H D

* Alluding to the six prisoners, against whom they could prove no offence of any consequence, much less any crime worthy of stripes or bonds.

† Sewel, p. 196.

C H A P. " or hold them fast till some severer laws be
 XV. " enacted to inflict heavier punishments upon
 1658. " them." How inconsistent are the inferences
 naturally arising from this strange parallel with
 the duty of his station, as a tutor of youth or
 minister of the gospel. And whatever his cha-
 racter might be as a scholar, little credit can
 accrue to him as a lawyer or a minister: To
 propose the punishing of men, not for what they
 had done, but what they might do, is so evident-
 ly preposterous, so opposite to the spirit of law
 and gospel, morality and religion, that one
 might wonder how it could enter into any
 man's heart to conceive, or how his tongue
 could be brought to utter it upon so solemn
 an occasion, as that of a religious exercise. But
 we have herein one instance among many of the
 spirit of these New-England priests, ever ready
 to add fewel to the strange fire of persecution in
 the magistrates, and not only to foment their
 sanguinary measures, but often to be the first
 proposers and promoters of them. This lecture,
 with other efforts of the priests, prompted the
 magistrates soon after to go one step farther,
 and enact a law *to banish the Quakers on pain of
 death*: And these six persons will appear to be
 first upon whom it was enforced.

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Christopher Holder, John Copeland and John Rouse have their right Ears cut off.—Their Appeal to England rejected.—Katharine Scot whipped.—Many join in Society with the People called Quakers.—The Priests petition for a Law to banish them on pain of Death.—Opposed by the Court of Deputies.—By the Instigation of the Priests carried by one Vote.—Two Deputies enter their Protest against it.—Laurence Southick, Samuel Shattock, &c. banished upon the Act.—Recapitulation of the Treatment of Laurence and Cassandra Southick.—Their Son and Daughter fined for absence from the Public Worship, and ordered to be sold for bond Slaves to satisfy the Fine.—William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer and N. Davis banished on pain of Death.—The three former continue or return, and are all condemned to Death.—Mary Dyer's Letter to the General Court.—They are led to execution with Drums beating.—Reflections on their Usage.—Mary Dyer reprieved.—Inhumanity to the dead Bodies.—People disgusted at these Executions.

WE come now to the execution of their law against such as should presume to return after they had suffered before. Christopher Holder and John Copeland coming to Dedham, and lodging

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lodging there one night, were next day taken by a constable and carried to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he in a rage addressed them with this rough salutation, *You shall be sure to have your ears cut off.* Soon after John Rouse also coming to Boston was clapt into prison. On the 10th of September these three were brought before the court of magistrates, where, after some reflections cast upon them, Endicot, in fierce wrath, pronounced the following sentence: *It is the sentence of this court that you three have each his right ear cut off by the hangman;* which sentence was executed upon them the 16th. The deputy marshal having admitted as many as he thought proper, had the doors made fast, and the prisoners being brought into another room, John Rouse told the marshal, ** We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England.* To which he answered, *I have nothing to do with that.* Holder said, *Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for that was contrary to the law of England.* Captain Oliver replied, *We do it in private, to keep you from tattling.* The executioner then proceeded to the execution of his office upon Holder; the marshal, who was ordered to see the execution, turned his back, upon which Rouse called to him *to turn about and see it,* according to his order, and then he turned again. After Holder suffered the amputation of his ear, Rouse undauntedly

* Humphry Norton, and the others whipped with him, appealed also to England; but Endicot and Bellingham violently opposed it, crying out, *"no appeal to England! no appeal to England!"*

undauntedly suffered the like, and after him CHAP.
 Copeland, which being done, they said, "Those XVI.
 " who do it ignorantly, we desire from our
 " hearts the Lord to forgive them ; but for
 " them that do it maliciously, let our blood be
 " upon their heads ; and such shall know in
 " the day of account, that each drop of our
 " blood shall be heavier than a mill-stone."

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Amongst others whom curiosity or compas-
 sionate sympathy had drawn to see this execu-
 tion was Katharine Scot from Providence, who,
 upon observing it was to be done in private,
 remarked that it was evident they were doing
 the work of darkness, or else they would have
 brought them forth publicly, and have de-
 clared their offences, that others might hear
 and fear. For this sensible observation, she,
 who was a woman of blameless conversation,
 good education and circumstances, was com-
 mitted to prison, and severely whipped with a
 three-fold cord knotted whip. And, upon her
 examination, being threatened with hanging if
 she came thither again, she gravely replied, *If* Katharine
God calls us, woe be to us, if we come not ; and Scott
I question not but he whom we love will make us whipped.

God calls us, woe be to us, if we come not ; and
I question not but he whom we love will make us
not to count our lives dear to ourselves, for his
name's sake ; to which Endicot, from the ma-
 lignity of his heart, rejoined, *And we shall be*
as ready to take away your lives, as you shall be
to lay them down, which savage expression his
 actions afterwards cruelly made good.

For notwithstanding all the sanguinary laws
 hitherto enacted by these rigid rulers, and the
 more sanguinary punishment inflicted upon this
 people

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Many join
in society
with the
Quakers.

Law to
banish
Quakers
on pain of
death.

people in many cases without or beyond law, under the full persuasion of duty several of them were still concerned, notwithstanding all attending danger and difficulty, to continue their travels for the fulfilling that ministry they believed themselves called unto, although they were sensible bonds and afflictions abode them; by the exercise whereof, as well as the beholding of their patience under their sufferings, many of the inhabitants of Boston, Salem and other places had been brought over to join with them in gospel fellowship, and many more to sentiments of compassion and good-will toward them. The arbitrary rulers of this colony, mortified to the last degree to find all the vindictive measures they had adopted to suppress this new sect, resulting in a general commiseration of the sufferers, and a general dissatisfaction at their rigorous and persecuting proceedings; that the society gained ground under all the difficulties and disadvantages they were exposed to; and the more barbarous severities they inflicted upon them, the more the disgraceful employment grew upon their hands, determined to resort to the last extremity, and enact a law to banish them on pain of death¹.

This was not so easy a matter for them to get accomplished, the tender feelings of the people being awakened by the repeated instances of their former cruelty, and the patience of the sufferers. Many of the sober part of all ranks were very averse to this proposed measure, and not backward to declare their aversion; but where the civil, ecclesiastical and military powers

¹ Bessé, v. ii. p. 190.

powers are combined*, be their measures right or wrong, all opposition is ineffectual; and in the present case the chiefs of these three orders, *John Endicot* governor, *Richard Bellingham* deputy governor, *John Norton* and *John Wilson* chief priests of Boston, and the majors-general *Dennison* and *Adderton*, constantly appear amongst their determined foes, and most sanguine fomenters, or administrators of persecution against them. *John Norton*, in conjunction with others of the priesthood, (who had been all along at the bottom of these persecuting measures) pretended ministers of his gospel, who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them, forgot their duty so far, that they presented a petition to the magistrates, to make some law to banish the Quakers upon pain of death, thus prescribing to them the measures to pursue. In consequence whereof the magistrates, in their † general court held in Boston in October, at the instigation of the priests, and to gratify their own mortal hatred, made

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Petitioned
for the
priests.

* These magistrates, conscious where their strength lay, viz. of the power being in their own hands, were not ashamed to exercise it without regard to equity or morality.

† The general court is composed of the magistrates and deputies elected by the freemen of the respective towns; this court hath the power of judicature, as well as the supreme legislative power: it is constituted of two houses, the court of magistrates and the court of deputies, each sitting and acting a part. The laws are to be transmitted from one house to the other, and not to be in force till passed by a majority of both houses; and if any disagreement or difference in judgment arise between the two houses, it is to be decided by a majority of both houses met together. Appendix to Neale's history of New-England, vol. ii. p. 336.

CHAP. no difficulty of passing an act to banish and
 XVI. put them to death without a trial by jury,
 agreeing it should be executed by a county
 1658. court, consisting of three magistrates, the ma-
 jority of whom were to give judgment, and
 condemn to death at their pleasure; but the

Opposed by the court of deputies. court of deputies would by no means agree to
 it, as being contrary to the laws of England
 to put men to death without a trial by a jury.

Through the influence of the priests carried by one vote. However the magistrates and priests were so
 determinedly bent to gain their point, that they
 exerted all their influence with the deputies,
 and at last prevailed upon two of them to
 change sides, and even then their sanguinary

law was carried by a majority of one voice
 only; the speaker and eleven more being
 against, and thirteen for it. One *Wexel*, a dea-
 con of their church and a deputy, was affected
 so much on the occasion, that being confined
 by indisposition, he desired to be sent for, when
 the law should be put to the vote; but it was
 carried in his absence, which when he heard, in
 the anxiety of his heart he went to the court,
 and desired his vote might be taken, with tears
 expressing his sorrow that his absence should
 occasion such a law to pass, saying, *That if he*
had not been able to go, he would have crept on
his hands and knees to prevent it. Thus was
 the law carried to banish them on pain of death
 by a majority of three magistrates, without the
 interposition of a jury; yet two of the depu-
 ties, Captain Edward Hutchinson, and Thomas
 Clark of Boston, merchant, being still dissatis-
 fied, did enter their protest against the law;
 because

Two depu-
 ties enter
 their protest
 against it.

because it was contrary to a standing law of the C H A P. country, which was, *that none be sentenced to death and banishment but by a special jury and court of assistants**. And it seems that the law was amended, prescribing a legal trial, (if it can be called a trial at all) consonant to this standing law.

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Thus on the 20th of October, 1658, they passed the following act:

“ An act made at a general court held at Boston the 20th of October, 1658.

“ Whereas there is a pernicious sect, commonly called *Quakers*, lately arisen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many † dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received ‡ laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals or reverence to superiors, § whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by || denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing

* Court of Assistants consists of the governor, deputy governor and magistrates of Boston.

† *Dangerous and horrid tenets.*] What these dangerous and horrid tenets were, is neither specified in this nor any other of their laws.

‡ *Laudable customs, viz.*] The pulling off the hat.

§ *Whose actions tend to undermine the civil government.*] If any of their conduct had this tendency, it is a wonder these rulers never specified these dangerous actions, because a specification thereof would have been a better apology for their severe laws than any they have published.

|| *Denying all established forms of worship.*] Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum. What was the cause of these

CHAP. " withdrawing from orderly church-fellowship,
 XVI. " allowed and approved by all orthodox pro-
 1658. fessors of truth, and instead thereof, and in
 " opposition thereunto, frequently meeting by
 " themselves, insinuating themselves into the
 " minds of the simple, or such as are least af-
 " fected to the order and government of
 " church and commonwealth, whereby divers
 " of our inhabitants have been infected, not-
 " withstanding all former laws made upon the
 " experience of their arrogant and bold obtru-
 " sions, to disseminate their principles amongst
 " us, prohibiting their coming into this jurisdic-
 " tion, they have not been deterred from
 " their impetuous attempts to undermine our
 " peace and hazard our ruin.
 " For prevention thereof, this court doth
 " order and enact, that every person or persons
 " of the *curfed sect of Quakers*, who is not an
 " inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdic-
 " tion, shall be apprehended without war-
 " rant where no magistrate is at hand, by any
 " constable, commissioner, or select man, and
 " conveyed from constable to constable to the
 " next magistrate, who shall commit the said
 " person to close prison, there to remain (with-
 " out bail) unto the next court of assistants,
 " where

these legislators leaving their native land, but their dissent from the established forms of worship there. Is not this law an apology for Laud and his associates, in asserting a right to punish men for denying established forms, particularly as they stopt short of the extremities to which these precise barbarians proceeded; they neither banished nor hanged any of their preachers, the hardships, they had chiefly to complain of, being a deprivation of their ecclesiastical emoluments, which the Quakers wanted not from them.

" where they shall have a legal trial by a CHAP.
XVI.
1658.
 " special jury; and being * convicted to be of
 " the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to
 " be banished upon pain of death: And that
 " every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being
 " convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either
 " by taking up, publishing or defending the
 " horrid opinions of the *Quakers*, or the stir-
 " ring up mutiny, sedition or rebellion against
 " the government, or by taking up their abu-
 " sive and destructive practices, viz. denying
 " civil respect to equals and superiors, and
 " withdrawing from our church assemblies, and
 " instead thereof frequenting meetings of their
 " own in opposition to our church order, or
 " by adhering to or approving of any known
 " *Quaker*, and the tenets and practices of the
 " *Quakers* that are opposite to the orthodox
 " received opinions of the godly, and endea-
 " vouring to disaffect others to civil govern-
 " ment and church order, or condemning the
 " proceedings and practices of this court
 " against the *Quakers*, manifesting thereby their
 " compliance with those whose design is to
 " overthrow the order established in church
 " and state, every such person, upon convic-
 " tion before the said court of assistants in
 " manner

* This conviction doth not appear to be by evidence of
 any matter of fact, but their coming into the court covered,
 saying *thee* and *thou*; and such like marks of their being
 Quakers so called, were assumed by the court as sufficient
 evidence to convict them upon even in case of life and death,
 which proceeding drew from William Leddra this pertinent
 remark, " you will put me to death for speaking English, and
 " for not putting off my clothes."

CHAP. " manner aforesaid, shall be committed to close
 XVI. " prison for one month, and then, unless they
 " choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction,
 1658. " shall give bond for their good behaviour,
 " and appear at the next court, where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death; and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial as aforesaid."

Such a sample of legislation is a monument of lasting infamy to the legislators. To enact and inflict capital punishment from personal dislikes, for mere personal offences, or a conscientious dissent to established forms, even with a constitutional authority, is little short of murder; but without it it is well nigh murder of malice prepense. For as to the undermining or inciting to disaffection to the civil government, to its ruin, these are no more than vague pretexts, unsupported by matter of fact. The usual subterfuge of persecution, to strip itself of the odium of its real character, is to clothe religious dissent with the robe of sedition in the state; yet the preamble of this law points chiefly at religious scruple or inoffensive usages, which mark it at first view with the stamp of downright persecution to death.

1659. The first victims to this severe law were Laurence and Cassandra Southlek, their son Josiah, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buffum. They were called before the court the 11th of 3d month, 1659, and on their

Proceedings
 against Laurence and
 Cassandra Southlek,
 Samuel Shattock,
 &c.

their trial (such as it was) the same arbitrary CHAP.
 spirit of tyranny appeared in their manner of XVI.
 executing as in passing their laws. The pri-
 soners making a rational objection to their pro-
 ceeding against them by this law, as being in
 custody when it was made, and therefore as to
 them a post facto law.—To their quere, *whether*
it was for an offence against that law, which
then had no existence, they were committed to
prison and banished, they received no reply;
 then one of them desired the governor, *that*
he would be pleased to declare before the people
the real and true cause of their proceedings against
them; he answered, *it was for contemning au-*
*thority in not coming to the * ordinances of God.*
 He further charged them *with rebellion against*
the authority of the country, in not departing ac-
ording to their order; to which they answered,
They had no other place to go to, but had their
wives, children, families and estates to look after;
nor had they done any thing worthy of death,
banishment or bonds, or any of the hardships or
ignominious punishments which they had suf-
fered in their persons, besides the loss of one
hundred pounds worth of their property taken
from them for meeting together. This re-
 monstrance of their recent accumulated inju-
 ries silencing the governor, Major-general Den-
 nison

* What he particularly meant by the ordinances of God
 I cannot determine; if it was their public worship, (for their
 absence from which they had before suffered by fines and by
 whipping) I think it is a bold appellation, and more blas-
 phemous than any thing objected to the Quakers, as applied
 to that worship and that religion which produced no better
 fruits. Such bitter waters never issued from a divine foun-
 tain.

CHAP. nison made this unanswerable reply, that *they*
 stood against the authority of the country in not
 submitting to their laws; that he should not go
 about to speak much of the error of their judgments, but, added he, you and we are not able
 well to live together: *At present the power is
 in our hand, and therefore the strongest must
 fend off. ^m After this the prisoners were put forth
 for a while, and being called in again, the sen-
 tence of banishment was pronounced against
 them, and no more than a fortnight's time al-
 lowed for them to depart on pain of death;
 and although they desired a respite to settle
 their affairs, and till an opportunity of a con-
 venient passage to England might occur, the
 unrelenting malice of their persecutors would
 not grant them even this small and reasonable
 request; so Samuel Shattock, N. Phelps and
 Josiah Southick † were obliged to take an op-
 portunity

Sentenced
 to banish-
 ment on
 pain of
 death.

* Have we, in the history of that reign, which these men
 and their partizans so freely represent under the epithets of
 despotic and tyrannical, so barefaced an assertion of arbitrary
 power as this?

^m Bessé, vol. ii. p. 197.

† Neale is guilty of an unaccountable mistake in asserting
 that none of these returned into the country any more,
 whereas Samuel Shattock was the man, who, as king's
 commissioner, carried over his mandamus to the governor of
 New England to put a stop to their illicit proceedings in
 putting Quakers to death. This mandamus he seems to
 have copied from New England judged, where § he must
 surely have seen it was carried over by said Shattock. Josiah
 Southick and N. Phelps also returned in 1661, before the
 arrival of S. Shattock, N. Phelps being ancient died soon
 after, and J. Southick was afterwards whipt through several
 towns.

§ New England judged, p. 354.

portunity that presented four days after, to pass for England by Barbadoes, in order to seek redress from the parliament and council of state there, but without success. Laurence and Cassandra Southick went to Shelter Island, where they soon after died within three days of each other; and Joshua Bussum retired to Rhode Island.

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XVI.

1659.

The proceedings of these haughty rulers are strongly marked throughout with the features of self-importance, inhumanity and bitter malignity; but I know of no instance of a more persevering malice and cruelty, than that wherewith they persecuted the aforesaid Laurence and Cassandra Southick and their family. First, while members of their church, they were both imprisoned for entertaining strangers, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, a christian duty, which the apostle to the Hebrews advises not to be unmindful of. And after seven weeks imprisonment, Cassandra was fined 40s. for owning a paper written by the aforesaid persons. Next for absenting from the public worship and owning the Quakers' doctrine, on the information of one captain Hawthorn, they with their son Josiah were sent to the house of correction, and whipped in the coldest season of the year, and at the same time Hawthorn issued his warrant to distrain their goods for absence from their public worship, whereby there were taken from them cattle to the value of 4l. 15s. Again they were imprisoned with others for being at a meeting, and Cassandra was again whipped, and upon their joint letter to the magistrates before recited the other appellants were released; but this family, although they with the rest had suffered the penalty of their cruel law

Recapitulation of the sufferings of Laurence and Cassandra Southick.

CHAP. law fully, were * arbitrarily detained in prison
 XVI. to their great loss and damage, being in the
 1659. season of the year when their affairs most immediately demanded their attendance. And last of all were banished upon pain of death, as before recited, by a law made while they were imprisoned, and consequently against which they had not offended: Thus spoiled of their property, deprived of their liberty, driven into banishment, and in jeopardy of their lives, for no other crime than meeting apart, and dissenting from the established worship, the sufferings of this inoffensive aged couple ended only with their lives.

Daniel and
 Provided
 Southick
 fined 10l.
 for absence
 from the
 publick
 worship.

But the multiplied injuries of this harmless pair were not sufficient to gratify that thirst of vengeance which stimulated these persecutors; while any member of the family remained unmolested: During their detention in prison, they left at home a son and daughter named Daniel and Provided; these children, not deterred by the unchristian treatment of their parents and brother, felt themselves rather encouraged to follow their steps, and relinquish the assemblies of a people whose religion was productive of such relentless persecution, for their absence from which they were fined 10l: though it was well known they had no estate, their parents having been reduced to poverty by repeated fines and extravagant distrainments; wherefore to satisfy the fine, they were ordered to be sold for bond-slaves by the following mandate:

Whereas

* While they were in prison, William Malton coming through Salem in his way to Boston, brought them some provisions from home, for which he was committed to prison, and kept there fourteen days in the cold winter season, though about seventy years of age.

W. "Whereas, *Daniel Southick* and *Provided* CHAP.
 "Southick, son and daughter of *Laurence* XVI.
 "Southick, absenting themselves from the pub-
 lic ordinances, having been fined by the courts
 of *Salem* and *Ipswich*, pretending they have
 no estates, and resolving not to work: The
 court, upon perusal of a law, which was made
 upon account of debts, in answer to what
 should be done for the satisfaction of the fines
 resolves, That the treasurers of the several
 counties, are and shall be fully empowered to
 sell the said persons to any of the *English* na-
 tion at *Virginia* or *Barbadoes*, to answer the
 said fines."

1659.
 Ordered to
 be sold for
 bond-slaves
 to satisfy
 the fine.

* Pursuant to this order *Edward Butter*, one
 of the treasurers, sought out for a passage for
 them to *Barbadoes* for sale, but could find none
 willing to take them thither. One master of a
 ship to whom he applied, in order to evade a
 compliance, pretended they would spoil the ship's
 company, *Butter* replied, *No, you need not fear*
 VOL. II. and *Butter* B b that,

Vain endea-
 vours to put
 the order in
 execution.

See *Besse*, vol. ii. p. 197. *Sewel*, p. 223.

* *Neale*, in the place of *Butter*'s subsequent endeavours to
 execute the above-cited order, substitutes the following palli-
 ating conjecture: "I am apt to think this order was made
 rather to terrify the *Quakers*, than with a design to be put
 in execution; for when *Southick* and his wife had been
 thoroughly frightened, they were sent home without further
 punishment." On what authority he founds this con-
 jecture doth not appear, nor do I see room for it; we find none
 of their orders which they could execute within themselves,
 which were not executed fully up to, or beyond the letter of
 the law, a bitter passionate spirit accompanying all their exe-
 cutions. And in the present case, the failure of execution
 doth not appear to be the result of any tenderness in them,
 but of a more humane disposition in others not under their
 jurisdiction, whose assistance was wanted, but who would have
 no concern in the business, as appearing to them unreasonably
 cruel and unjust.

C. H. A. P. *that, for they are poor harmless creatures that will*
 XVI. *not hurt any body.* The master rejoined, *will you*
 1659. *then offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?*
 and declined the invidious office of transporting
 them, as well as the rest. Disappointed in his
 designs, and at a loss how to dispose of them,
 the winter approaching, he sent them home to
 shift for themselves, till he could find a conve-
 nient opportunity to send them away.

W. Robin-
 son, Mar-
 maduke
 Stevenfon,
 Mary Dyer
 and Nicho-
 las Davis,
 banished on
 pain of
 death.

We are now advanced to the period wherein
 persecution proceeded to the last extremity, in
 prosecuting to death for religion. William Ro-
 binson, a merchant of London, Marmaduke Ste-
 venfon of Yorkshire, husbandman, and Mary
 Dyer, a woman fearing the Lord, of good report,
 the mother of several children, and wife of a re-
 putable inhabitant of Rhode-Island, with Nicholas
 Davis, were by the Court of Assistants at Boston
 in the beginning of September, 1659, sentenced
 to banishment on pain of death. William Ro-
 binson attempting to speak for himself, was first
 stopped by an handkerchief thrust into his mouth,
 and afterwards severely whipped with twenty
 stripes with a threefold corded whip, soon after
 which they were all released, and banished pur-
 suant to their sentence, being allowed no more
 than two days *, from the 12th of September,
 the day of their release, to the 14th of the same,

W. Robin-
 son whipt.

* Sewel, p. 227, &c. Bessé, vol. ii.

* We have again an instance of Neale's unfair and partial
 representation of fact: "These three coming from Rhode
 " Island in the month of June, were apprehended and banish-
 " ed on pain of death, and were allowed till the 4th of Sep-
 " tember to depart the jurisdiction. The two men went to
 " Piscataqua government, and the woman to Rhode Island,
 " &c." One would naturally conclude from hence, that they
 were

to depart their jurisdiction, to answer it at the C H A P. XVI.
 peril of their lives, if found within their pre-
 cincts after the last mentioned day.

Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis left that jurisdiction at that time: William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson only went from Boston, but found themselves not at liberty to depart the jurisdiction, though staying at the hazard of their lives, apprehending their ministry there not finished; so they departed to Salem and the adjacent parts to visit their friends and confirm them in the faith, to stand steadfast in these perilous times.

1659.

W. Robinson and M. Stevenson continue about Salem.

B b 2

were banished in June, and allowed till the 4th of September to depart, and so conceive an idea of the lenity of this government, to which it hath no better claim in this, than in its preceding transactions, being marked with the same bitter spirit of un pitying animosity. From *New Eng. judged* we learn, "That they came from Rhode Island in the then 4th month (June) to Boston, where they were apprehended, and sent to prison, to remain there till the next Court of Assistants," which was held as above related: The order for their release bears date the 12th of September, and concludes thus: "They must answer it on their peril, if they or any of them after the 14th of this present month September, are found within this jurisdiction." So then they had no more than two days allowed them to escape their determined destruction. This was certainly a very hard measure, for no other crime than breathing the air of the country, and too evident a symptom of implacable malignity, rising to blood-thirstiness in their persecutors, hardly reconcileable to Endicot's declaration, that *he desired not their death*. But Neale in his relation conceals this aggravating circumstance, which is a very material part of an honest and impartial account, as it shews these governors in a proper light; and there appears too much reason to conclude it was done with design to gloss over the cruelty of these proceedings, by giving them a complexion of lenity which they possessed not, and to the conduct of the innocent sufferers, that of an unreasonable contumacy, and being guilty of their own blood; of which they were no otherwise guilty, than by continuing in the discharge of apprehended duty.

CHAP.
XVI.

1659.
M. Dyer
returns to
Boston.

All three
condemned
to death.

times. It was not long before they were taken up, imprisoned, and put in chains at Boston. In the next month Mary Dyer also returned, and was taken into custody; thus they had in their power three persons, who by their sanguinary law had forfeited their lives. On the 20th of October they were brought before the court, where John Endicot presided, and being set to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats, and without further process, without any other prefatory address, to point out their errors, than the following recapitulation of their own severities and crimes, instead of those of the prisoners, proceeded to pass sentence of death as follows, "We have made many laws, and endeavoured by several ways to keep you from us, and neither whipping nor imprisonment, nor cutting off of ears, nor banishment on pain of death, will keep you from among us; *I desire not your deaths.*" Then added, "Give ear and hearken to your sentence of death." William Robinson, previous to passing the sentence, desiring liberty to read a paper, shewing the reason why he had not departed that jurisdiction, his request was refused, and the following sentence passed upon him: *You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead.* After which Marmaduke Stevenon and Mary Dyer received the like sentence; these two, observing the treatment of William Robinson, made no defence. But the former, after the sentence, was incited to warn the magistrates and others guilty of their death, *That the same day they put the Lord's servants to death, the day of their visitation should pass over their heads,*

heads, and they be cursed for evermore : And therefore in love, desired them to take warning before it should be too late, and thereby remove the fatal consequences of shedding innocent blood. Mary Dyer, to her sentence, replied, *The will of the Lord be done.* Upon which Endicot ordering the marshal to take her away, she rejoined, *yea joyfully I go.* Being taken back to prison, she employed a part of the intermediate time in writing, to the general court in Boston, a letter of remonstrance against their last sanguinary law, being a strong dissuasion from putting it in execution. Of which, as a specimen of equanimity in the most trying circumstances, and the good sense and christian temper that dictated it, we lay before the reader the following abstract ;

CHAP
XVI.

1659.

“ To the general court at Boston.

Mary Dyer's letter
to the general court.

“ Whereas I am charged by many with guiltiness of my own blood : If you mean in my
“ coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and
“ justified by the Lord, in whose will I came,
“ who will require my blood of you, be sure,
“ who have made a law to take away the lives
“ of the innocent servants of God, if they come
“ among you, who are called by you *curfed*
“ *Quakers* ; although I say, and am a living
“ witness for them and the Lord, that he hath
“ blessed them, and sent them unto you : Therefore be not found fighters against God, but
“ let my counsel and request be accepted with
“ you, to repeal all such laws, that the truth and
“ servants of the Lord may have free passage
“ amongst you, and you be kept from shedding
“ innocent blood, which I know there are many
“ among you would not do, if they knew it so
“ to

CHAP. " XVI.

1659.

" to be.——I have no self-ends, the Lord
 " knoweth, for if my life were freely granted
 " by you it would not avail me, nor could I
 " expect it of you so long as I daily hear or see
 " the sufferings of these people, as I have done
 " these two years, and now it is like to encrease
 " even unto death, for no evil-doing but com-
 " ing among you. *Were ever the like laws heard*
 " *of among a people that profess Christ come in the*
 " *flesh?* And have you no other weapons but
 " such laws to fight with against spiritual wick-
 " edness, as you call it?——Search with the
 " light of Christ in you, and it will shew you of
 " whom you take counsel, as it hath done me
 " and many more, who have been disobedient
 " and deceived as now you are; which light as
 " you come into, and obey what is made mani-
 " fest to you therein, you will not repent that
 " you were kept from shedding blood, though
 " by a woman. It is not my own life I seek,
 " (*for I chuse rather to suffer with the people of*
 " *God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt*) but
 " the life of the seed which I know the Lord
 " hath blessed;——And I know this,
 " that if you confirm your law, though it were
 " to the taking away the life of but one of us,
 " that the Lord will overthrow both your law
 " and you by his righteous judgments, and
 " plagues poured justly upon you; who now,
 " whilst you are warned thereof, and tenderly
 " sought unto, may avoid the one by removing
 " the other.——Oh! let none of you
 " put the evil day far from you, which verily,
 " in the light of the Lord, I see approaching
 " even to many in and about *Boston*, which is
 " the bitterest and darkest professing place that
 " ever I heard of; let the time past, therefore,
 " suffice

" suffice for such a profession as brings forth
 " such fruits as these laws are. In love, and in
 " the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you,
 " for I have no enmity to the persons of any;
 " but you shall know that God will not be
 " mocked, but what you sow that shall ye reap
 " from him, that will render to every one accord-
 " ing to the deeds done in the body, whether
 " good or evil: Even so be it, saith

C H A P.

XVI.

1659.

" MARY DYER."

The 27th of October, being the day appoint-
 ed for their execution, in the afternoon they
 were led to the gallows by Michaelson the Mar-
 shal, and Captain Oliver, with a band of about
 two hundred armed men, besides many horse-
 men, as if apprehensive some of the people
 might rescue the prisoners. In the procession,
 the drummers were placed to march next before
 the condemned persons, and when any of them
 attempted to speak, the drums were beaten to
 prevent their being heard. An indecency un-
 precedented amongst civilized nations in the ad-
 ministration of legal justice, to the vilest crimi-
 nals: This awful scene humanity directs to be at-
 tended with becoming solemnity, and sympathy
 with the unhappy objects, who are going to lose
 their lives, as a sacrifice to public justice;
 and every sentiment of common decency revolts
 against the idea of disturbing their recollection
 in their last moments. But the treatment of
 these prisoners throughout, marks the difference
 between justice reluctantly punishing dangerous
 criminals to secure the public safety; and despo-
 tism wantonly exercising unjust power over in-
 nocence for the gratification of private animos-
 ity,

Led to exe-
 cution with
 a band of
 armed men,
 and drums
 beating.

Reflections
 upon their
 their usage,

C H A P.

XVI.

1659.

sity. But if these prisoners were deprived of the decent solemnity and usual sympathy, attendant on such occasions, they wanted them not; collected in themselves, and supported by that which the power and inveteracy of their persecutors could not reach, the inward testimony of an approving conscience, they rose superior to all the indignities, to which they were exposed. With hands and hearts joined, as companions in an invincible testimony to the truth they were brought to suffer for, with countenances undismayed, and brightened with signs of heavenly joy and gladness, they directed their steps to the place of execution. Mary being in the middle, the Marshal said to her, are you not ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men? She replied, *No, this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in the world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and refreshings of the spirit of the Lord, which I now feel.* William Robinson said, *This is your hour and the power of darkness,* upon which the drums were immediately beaten. When they ceased Marmaduke Stevenson said, *This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you;* but although he expressed more, the noise of the drums prevented his expressions being heard. They went forward with great chearfulness, as approaching everlasting felicity, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to suffer death for his name's sake*.

Amongst

* I believe I should not have noticed Neale's cursory relation of these executions, if he had introduced no reflections on the sufferers; but although in his preface he asserts that,
 "Where

Amongst the rest who attended this execution, John Wilson, priest of Boston, and colleague

CHAP.
XVI.
1659.
Wilson,
priest of
Boston, at-
tends the
execution,

"Where facts have been differently related, or the justice of the government arraigned, as in the sufferings of the Quakers and Anabaptists, &c. I have consulted the writers on both sides, and by comparing them together have set them in the best light I could." Yet in this case his assertion is not true, for he hath passed over in silence George Bishop's account of the behaviour of these sufferers at their execution, (from whence our accounts are taken, as from an authentick relation, written by a contemporary author, and first published in 1661, while the facts were recent, and all the parties concerned in being, and not controverted that I know of) and hath adopted that of Cotton Mather, a New England preacher and apologist, written many years after, whose reflections on the Quakers have been fully answered by John Whiting, in a piece, entitled *Truth and Innocency defended against Falsehood and Envy*, printed in 1702. Which answer Neale also cites for his authority, page 325. vol. i. and consequently had read it, where he might have seen these aspersions refuted. Now to suppress the most genuine and best authenticated accounts of their behaviour, because written by their friends, and introduce the illiberal, invidious reflections of an adversary, founded on vague and prejudiced report, is not *comparing the writers on both sides to set the facts in the best light he could*. And as he hath chosen to revive Mather's invidious and refuted insinuations, it seems proper after his respondent, John Whiting, to make some animadversions upon them, to supply Neale's failure of his specious profession, in *comparing the writers of both sides, and leaving the reader to make what reflections he pleases*. Cotton Mather says, "If any enquire with what spirit these men died, he must sincerely say, that as far as he can learn, they shewed little enough of the spirit of martyrdom, they died not like the true martyrs of Jesus Christ, with the glorious spirit of God resting upon them; but a fierce, a raging, a revengeful spirit, and a degree of madness rather inspired them." *Rank malice this. Mere unsupported partial opinion, founded in ill will, which speaks well of none*. To which hear John Whiting's reply. "I would fain know wherein [they shewed little of the spirit of martyrdom] and beseech the reader to peruse, not only
" their

CHAP.

XVI.

1659.

to insult
them.

league of John Norton aforesaid, accompanied them, but from motives very unbecoming of, and disgraceful to the sacerdotal character, not to sympathize with, convince or console the sufferers in their last moments, but to enjoy the full gratification of his virulent disposition, and disturb them with impotent insults, *shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?* was his contemptuous language: A wonderful reason indeed to take away their lives! which occasioned William Robinson to remark, *Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death.* William Robinson was executed the first, who on the ladder addressed the people to the following purport; *We suffer not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth: This is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the light of Christ which is in you, to which I have*

“ their examinations, and speeches at their deaths; but also
 “ their papers and epistles [recorded in the Appendix to
 “ New England judged, in Sewel's History, page 228, &c,
 “ or Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. page 238.] and compare them
 “ with the speeches and letters of the martyrs, in the book
 “ of martyrs, and see whether they do not savour of the
 “ spirit of martyrdom, and holy resignation in the case.—
 “ What won't envy misrepresent? *They died so like the mar-*
 “ *tyrs of Jesus Christ, with the glorious spirit of God resting*
 “ *upon them; yea, and supporting them to the last, as affect-*
 “ *ed the hearts of many at the time, so that several were*
 “ *convinced of the truth at their deaths—a fierce, a rag-*
 “ *ing, a revengeful spirit, &c.* I return upon him, as ma-
 “ heinous slanders and calumnies, and dare him to tell where-
 “ in they were fierce, raging, or revengeful: Did they ever
 “ go about to revenge themselves, or offer violence to any?
 “ No, *they left vengeance to the Lord to whom it belongs,*
 “ *and who will repay it.*” John Whiting's Answer to Cot-
 ton Mather, page 74, 75, 78.

I have born testimony, and am now going to seal CHAP. XVI.
my testimony with my blood. Wilson, as divested
 of all sensation of charity and tenderness, and
 unable to restrain the passion which inwardly
 agitated him, in beholding the patience and for-
 titude of the sufferer, bearing him up over all
 the terrors of death, vented his indignation, in
 the following presumptuous interruption, *hold*
thy tongue, be silent; thou art going to die with a
lie in thy mouth. William Robinson being now
 ready to be turned off, his last expressions were,
I suffer for Christ in whom I live, and for whom
I die. After he was turned off, Marmaduke Ste-
 venson ascended the ladder, and said, *Be it*
known unto you all this day, that we suffer not
as evil doers, but for conscience sake, and when
 he was about to be turned off, added, *This*
day shall we be at rest with the Lord. Mary Mary Dyer,
 Dyer was reprieved at the gallows, for that reprieved.
 time, at the intercession of her son.

The malice of their persecutors was not sa- Inhumanity
 tisfied with taking away their lives, but their in- to their
 humanity extended even to their dead bodies, dead bodies.
 none holding them when they were cut down,
 they fell to the ground, by which William Ro-
 binson's skull was fractured; then they were
 stripped, their shirts were ripped off with a
 knife, and their naked bodies rolled into a hole
 and left there uncovered. And when some of
 their friends would have put their bodies in
 coffins, they were not suffered to do it. Neither
 when they brought pales to enclose the pit, would
 it be allowed: So that they were left exposed
 to the beasts of prey, had not the pit been quickly
 filled with water. To conclude the infamous
 scene, Priest Wilson aforesaid vented the last
 effort

CHAP. effort of his spleen in a song upon the de-
 XVI. ceased.

1659. But many of the people more generous and
 People dis- humane than their magistrates and teachers, be-
 gusted at held these executions with silent sorrow, and
 these exe- returned home with heavy hearts, under disgust
 cutions. and discontent at the persevering cruelty of their

Mary Dyer
 sent home.

rulers in putting innocent men to death, which
 the magistrates perceiving, in order to allay the
 ferment, resolved to send Mary Dyer away. So
 they caused her to be set on horseback, and by
 four horsemen to be conveyed fifteen miles to-
 wards *Rhode Island*, who left her there with a
 horse and man, to be conveyed the rest of the
 way, which she soon sent back and went to her
 own home.

The beha-
 viour of
 these men
 at their
 execution
 the means
 of convinc-
 ing several.

The pious speeches, christian demeanour, con-
 stancy and innocence of these two martyrs at
 their execution, did not only excite, in the spec-
 tators in general, compassion and sorrow, but
 in several of them a spirit of enquiry into the
 causes thereof, and in consequence an adoption
 of that religion, which, they saw, was able to
 support its professors under so heavy a weight of
 afflictions. John Chamberlain, an inhabitant of
 Boston, in particular, being present, was so af-
 fected, that being convinced of the truth they
 died for, he went to visit others of that per-
 suasion then in prison, which the magistrates re-
 sented so far as to imprison him also, and cause
 him to be whipped several times most severely.
 Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, hav-
 ing said, *The guilt of Robinson's and Stevenson's*
blood was so great, that he could not bear it, was,
 for his pretended insolence, whipped with twenty
 lashes and fined 20l. And Michael Shafin, of
 Salem,

John Cham-
 berlain.

Edward
 Wharton.

Michael
 Shafin.

Salem, some years after, being interrogated by the court there, *How long he had absented from their worship?* answered, *Ever since you put the servants of the Lord to death.* But these ^{CHAP. XVI.} ~~fe~~ verities failing of reconciling the people to their arbitrary and unmerciful proceedings, and finding them condemned by the generality of sober persons at home and abroad, they published the following apology, in justification of their conduct.

1659.

“ Though * the justice of our proceedings
 “ against *William Robinson, Marmaduke Steven-*
 “ *son* and *Mary Dyer*, supported by the autho-
 “ rity of this court, and the laws of this
 “ country, and † the laws of God, may rather
 “ persuade us to expect encouragement and
 “ commendation from all prudent and pious
 “ men, than convince us of any necessity to
 “ apologize for the same; yet for as much as
 “ men of weaker parts out of pity and commi-
 “ seration (a commendable and christian virtue,
 “ yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister,
 “ and dangerous impressions) for want of a full
 “ information, may be less satisfied, and men
 “ of perverser principles to calumniate us, and
 “ render us as bloody persecutors, to satisfy
 “ one, and stop the mouths of the other, we
 “ have thought fit to declare, that about three
 “ years

* It requires more sagacity than I am master of, to discover any regard to justice in their proceedings against these persons; and I presume every dispassionate reader will be at a loss to discover it also.

† By what divine law could they support inhumanity, cruelty, and bloodshed? It appears to me blasphemy to introduce the sacred name into such an apology, and still more so to place his just laws, as in confederacy with their assumed authority, and arbitrary and unjust decrees.

C. H. A. P.

XVI.

1659.

years since, divers persons professing themselves *Quakers* (* of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands, both from *Barbadoes* and *England*) arrived at *Boston*, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity † without censure or punishment, although their professed principles, turbulent and impetuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion; yet the prudence of this court was exercised only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured by our experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in *Munster* ‡) was to undermine and

* This is a plain confession, that their persecuting measures were grounded upon no conviction of matters of fact; but on bitter prejudice, on no better grounds, than the reports of men, highly as much prejudiced against this people as themselves.

† This is not true, it being manifest even the first that came were both censured and punished in various ways; closely imprisoned; their books seized and burnt by the hangman, deprived of company and food several days; stripped naked to search for tokens of witchcraft; and their beds and bibles taken from them for the jailers fees. If all this usage was not punishment, what was it?

‡ Equally untrue is it that they were assured, by their own experience, that the design of these people was to undermine and ruin the peace and order established: they interfered not with their civil government; nor have these apologists advanced one matter of fact to support the allegation—because they could not. And their taking their estimate of them and their designs from the Anabaptists of *Munster*, whom they term their predecessors, is unfair, ill-grounded, and mere venom. Was there not as great a disparity between the *Quakers* and these Anabaptists, as between the independents and them? and might they not with equal or greater propriety be termed the predecessors of the independents

of

“and ruin the same; and accordingly a law was CHAP.
 “made and published, prohibiting all masters XVI.
 “of 1659.

of New England? “By their fruits ye shall know them,” was the criterion pointed out by the author of the christian religion, to try pretences to religion by, and to discriminate the false prophet from the true. Wherefore it may be no improper digression to take a summary review of the conduct of these Anabaptists, in an abstract from a late author *, and enquire wherein the Quakers resembled them. John Mathias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bocold, a taylor of Leyden, were at the head of the disorders and delusions of these visionary impostors; they settled in Munster, a city of Westphalia, and gained many proselytes to their tenets, the principal of which, and from which they obtained their name, was this, that baptism ought to be administered only to adult persons, and should be performed, not by sprinkling but dipping; condemning the baptizing of infants, and re-baptizing all whom they admitted into their society. This being a harmless speculative principle, and having some appearance of reason and authority from the practice of the primitive christians, could expose them to little or no censure, if they had stopped here. But to these, they are represented to have added other principles inconsistent with moral rectitude, and dangerous to the peace and order of society; they pretended that magistracy was not only unnecessary among christians; but an unlawful encroachment on their spiritual liberty: They were for levelling all ranks; making all property common; and reducing all men to a state of equality:!

But these levelling principles operated with these men only while they were themselves necessarily among the lower orders of the people: For their success in making proselytes discovered the unsoundness of their hearts, and the extravagance of their ambition: having gained some citizens of eminence to the adoption of their opinions, they expanded their views, and made several unsuccessful attempts to get possession of the town, in order to gain an establishment there for their motley system of confused tenets; and at last having secretly called in their associates from the neighbouring country, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal and the senate house in the night

CHAP. " of ships to bring any *Quakers* into this jurisdic-
 XVI. " tion, and themselves from coming in, on
 1659. " penalty

night time, and running about the streets with drawn swords and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, " Repent and be baptized," and " Depart, ye ungodly." The citizens of all ranks and classes, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantick multitude. At first they kept up the form of the antient constitution; but all their proceedings were directed by Mathias, who was absolute in command, whom it was instant death to disobey: Having thus got the city into his possession, he commenced his plan of reformation by confiscating the estates of those that had fled, ordering those that remained to bring in their gold, silver and precious effects, and lay at his feet; these he deposited in a public treasury, and appointed deacons to dispense them for the common use of all. At last being besieged in the town by the bishop of Munster, taking it into his head to smite the host of the enemy with a handful of men, in imitation of Gideon, he sallied out with a chosen band of thirty men to the slaughter, for they were all cut off to a man. He was succeeded in his command by his associate Bogold, who far outstripped him in the wildness of his ambition, excess of cruelty, and gross immorality. Nothing would satisfy his ambitious soul short of the power and title of king, which being conferred upon him, he immediately assumed all the state and pomp of royalty. He indulged his cruelty in almost daily executions, and his lust by disseminating among his deluded followers the notion of the lawfulness of polygamy; By his example as well as doctrine his disciples were led into excesses of riot in violation of every rule of decency, and into delusions no less pernicious to religion, than the peace and security of civil society.

Now if this description be just, where lies the parallel between them and the Quakers? These latter never perverted religion to serve the purposes of self-interest, ambition or lust: They constantly maintained that it led to self-denial and the daily cross to the indulgence of these passions, and these doctrines were exemplified in the strictness and circumspection of their lives: They introduced no levelling principles, they acknowledged magistracy necessary to the order of civil society, and paid due submission to its authority in civil concerns; they coveted no man's silver or gold or apparel; but wrought, labouring with their own hands to supply their necessities.

They

" penalty of the house of correction, until they
 " could be sent away. Notwithstanding which,
 " by a back door, they found entrance, and the
 " penalty inflicted on them proving insufficient
 " to restrain their impudent and insolent obtru-
 " sions, was encreased by the loss of the ears
 " of those who offended a second time; which
 " also being too weak a defence against their
 " impetuous and fanatick fury, necessitated us to
 " endeavour our security; and upon serious
 " consideration a law was made, that such per-
 " sons should be banished on pain of death, ac-
 " cording to the example of England, in their
 " provision against *Jesuits*, which sentence be-
 " ing regularly pronounced at the last court of
 " assistants against these parties, and they either
 " returning, or continuing presumptuously in
 " this jurisdiction after the time limited, were
 " apprehended, and owning themselves to be
 " the persons banished, were sentenced by the
 " court to death, according to the law afore-
 " said, which hath been executed on two of
 " them. Mary Dyer, upon petition of her son,
 " and the mercy and clemency of this court,
 " had liberty to depart within two days, which
 " she hath accepted of. The consideration of
 " our gradual proceedings will vindicate us

They never made use of their influence over their adherents
 to stir up sedition in the state, or to overturn government, in
 order to fix themselves therein; but ever asserted the use of
 arms to be inconsistent with christianity, and that universal
 peace and charity were the genuine productions of the gospel
 of Christ. Wherein then lies the parallel between these
 Anabaptists and them? Were I inclined to draw parallels, I
 certainly might point out a nearer resemblance between the
 proceedings of some other sects of that age, and these distur-
 bers of the public peace, than those of this harmless body of
 men.

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“ from the clamorous accusations of severity;
 “ our own just and necessary defence calling
 “ upon us (other means failing) to offer the
 “ point which these persons have violently and
 “ wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become
 “ *Felones de se*, which, might it have been pre-
 “ vented, and the sovereign law *salus populi* been
 “ preserved, our former proceedings, as well
 “ as the sparing *Mary Dyer*, upon an incon-
 “ siderable intercession, will evidently evince, we
 “ desire their lives absent, rather than their
 “ deaths present.”

To conclude, this apology throughout proves a bad cause, the reasons advanced, when stripped of falsehood and exaggeration, are too futile to be admitted by reasonable and unprejudiced persons as a plea for moderate punishment, much less for putting men to death.

1660.

Mary Dyer
returns to
Boston.

Mary Dyer finding herself under a necessity, laid on her from the requirings of the spirit of the Lord, to go back again to *Boston*, returned accordingly thither on the 21st of 3d month this year; and on the 31st of the same was sent for by the general court; * being come, Endicott, the governor, said, *Are you the same Mary Dyer, that was here before?* And it seems he was preparing an evasion for her, there having been another of that name lately come from England. But she, far from any disguise, undauntedly answered, *I am the same Mary Dyer that was here the last general court.* Then Endicot said, *You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?* To which she answered, *I own myself to be reproachfully called so:* Endicot said, *The sentence was passed upon her the last general court, and now likewise:*

Sentenced
to death
a second
time,

You

You must return to the prison, and there remain until to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged until you are dead. To which she answered, *This is no more than what thou saidst before.* Endicot replied; *but now it is to be executed, therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock.* She then spoke thus: *I came in obedience to the will of God, the last general court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws for banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request; although I told you, that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them.* Hereupon Endicot asked her, *Whether she was a prophetess?* She answered, *She spoke the words that the Lord spoke to her, and now the thing was come to pass.* And beginning to speak of her call, Endicot cried, *Away with her, away with her.* So she was brought to prison, and kept close till next day.

About the time appointed, the marshal *Michelson* came, and called for her to come hastily, and coming into the room where she was, she desired him *to stay a little, and, speaking mildly, said, she would be ready presently:* But he, being of a rough temper, said, *He could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him.* One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to see such hard-heartedness, spoke something against their unjust laws and proceedings: To which he said, *You shall have your share of the same.* Then Mary Dyer was brought forth, and with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued, that none might hear her speak

CHAP.
XVI.
1660.

Unhand-
some car-
riage of the
Marshal,

by whom
she is taken
out to exe-
cution with
a band of
soldiers and
drums
beating.

C H A P. all the way to the place of execution, which was
 XVI. about a mile. Thus guarded, she came to the
 1660. gallows, and being gone up the ladder, some
 said to her, that *if she would return she might
 come down, and save her life.* To which she re-
 plied, *Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will
 of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faith-
 ful to death.* Then Captain James Webb said, *that
 she had been there before, and had the sentence of
 banishment upon pain of death, and had broken the
 law in coming again now ; and therefore was guilty
 of her own blood.* To which she returned, *Nay,
 I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you
 to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banish-
 ment upon pain of death, made against the innocent
 servants of the Lord, therefore my blood will be re-
 quired at your hands who wilfully do it ; but for
 those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I
 desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the
 will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand
 even to death.* Then Priest Wilson said, *Mary
 Dyer, O repent, O repent, and be not so deluded, and
 carried away by the deceit of the devil.* To this
 she answered, *Nay, man, I am not now to repent.*
 And being asked by some, *Whether she would
 have the elders pray for her ?* She said, *I know
 never an elder here.* Being farther asked, *Whe-
 ther she would have any of the people pray for
 her ?* She said, *I desire the prayers of all the peo-
 ple of God.* Thereupon some scoffingly said,
It may be she thinks there are none here. To
 which she replied, *I know but few here.* Then
 they spoke to her again, that *one of the elders
 might pray for her.* To which she replied, *Nay,
 first a child, then a young man, then a strong man,
 before an elder in Christ Jesus.* After this she
 was charged with something, which was not
 understood

Her beha-
 viour and
 discourse at
 the place of
 execution.

understood what it was ; but she seemed to hear it ; for she said, *It is false, it is false, I never spoke those words.* Then one mentioned that she should have said, *she had been in paradise.* To which she answered, *Yea, I have been in paradise these several days.* And more she spoke of the eternal happiness, into which she was now to enter. Thus Mary Dyer departed this life, a constant and faithful martyr to Christ, having been twice led to death, which the first time she expected with an entire resignation of mind to the will of God, and now suffered with christian fortitude, being raised above the fear of death, through a blessed hope, and glorious assurance of eternal life and immortality.

There were at this time * eleven others prisoners in Boston, of whom Christopher Holder was sentenced to banishment upon pain of death, six were sentenced to be whipped, and four ordered to depart the colony.

CHAP.
XVI.
1660.
Eleven
other in
prison.

Having now brought up the transactions of the government of Massachusetts Bay, in relation to the Quakers, to the present period of this history, it is time to take a view of the proceedings against this people in other colonies. The colony of New Plymouth copied after that of the Massachusetts, as appears by a letter of James Cudworth, who had borne the offices of a magistrate and a captain or commission officer there, till he resigned the one, and was discharged from the other, for discovering some humanity to the persecuted Quakers, of which letter to a friend in London, as from an impartial hand, I copy an abstract,

* Christopher Holder, Daniel Gould, Robert Harper, William King, Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, Provided Southwick, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton.

CHAP abstract, as an authentic relation of the measures
 XVI pursued by this government in their treatment
 1660. of this people.

Abstract of James Cudworth's letter.

“ As for the state and condition of things
 “ amongst us it is sad and like so to continue ;
 “ the antichristian, persecuting spirit is very
 “ active. He that will not whip, persecute and
 “ punish men that differ in matters of religion,
 “ must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any
 “ office in the commonwealth. Last election
 “ Mr. Hatherly and myself left off the bench,
 “ and I was discharged of my captainship because
 “ I had entertained some of the Quakers at my
 “ house, that I might be the better acquainted with
 “ their principles : I thought it better to do so,
 “ than with the blind world to censure, condemn,
 “ rail at, and revile them, when they neither
 “ saw their persons nor knew any of their prin-
 “ ciples ; but the Quakers and myself cannot
 “ close in divers things ; and so I signified to
 “ the court I was no Quaker— but withal told
 “ them, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be
 “ no persecutor : This spirit did work the two
 “ years that I was in the magistracy, during
 “ which time I was on sundry occasions forced
 “ to declare my dissent in sundry actings of that
 “ nature, which though done with all modera-
 “ tion and due respect, yet wrought great dis-
 “ affection and prejudice in them against me,
 “ and produced a petition to the court against
 “ me, signed with nineteen hands, which was
 “ followed by another in my favour signed with
 “ fifty-four hands—The court returned in an-
 “ swer to the last petition, that they acknow-
 “ ledged

“ ledged my parts and gifts, and professed they
 “ had nothing against me, only in the thing of
 “ my giving entertainment to the Quakers,
 “ though I broke no law in so doing, for our law
 “ then was, *If any entertain a Quaker, and keep
 “ him after he is warned by a magistrate to depart,
 “ he shall pay 20s. a week for entertaining him.*
 “ But since that a law hath been made, *That if
 “ any entertain a Quaker, though but a quarter
 “ of an hour, he shall forfeit 5l.* Another, *That
 “ if any see a Quaker, he is bound, though he live
 “ six miles or more from a constable, to give imme-
 “ diate notice to him, or else be subject to the cen-
 “ sure of the court.* Another—*That if the con-
 “ stable know or hear of any Quaker in his pre-
 “ cincts, he is presently to apprehend him, and if
 “ he will not presently depart the town, to whip
 “ and send him away.* Divers have been whipped
 “ within our patent; and truly to tell you plain-
 “ ly, the whipping of them with that cruelty, as
 “ some of them have been whipped, and their
 “ patience under it, hath sometimes been the
 “ occasion of gaining more adherents to them,
 “ than if they had suffered them openly to have
 “ preached a sermon.

“ Another law made against the *Quakers* is,
 “ That if there be a Quakers-meeting any where
 “ in this colony, the party in whose house or on
 “ whose ground it is, shall pay 40s. the preacher
 “ 40s. and every hearer 40s. Our last law is—
 “ That the Quakers are to be apprehended, and
 “ carried before a magistrate, and by him com-
 “ mitted to close prison till they will promise to
 “ depart, and never come again, and will also
 “ pay their fees (neither of which they will ever
 “ do) and they must be kept only with the coun-
 “ try allowance (which is coarse bread and water.)

“ No

C H A P.

XVI.

1660.

CHAP. XVI.

“ No friend may bring them any thing, nor be permitted to speak to them ; nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of it to relieve themselves.

“ All these carnal and antichristian ways being not of God’s appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing or hindering them in their way or course. It is only the word and spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainfayers ; these are the mighty weapons of a christian’s warfare, by which mighty things are done and accomplished.

“ The Quakers have many meetings and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering to them. Their sufferings are grievous to, and sadden the hearts of most of the pious and virtuous part of this commonwealth, it lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds—The Massachusetts have banished six on pain of death, and I wish that blood may not be shed : Our poor people are pillaged and plundered of their goods, and haply when they have no more to satisfy the insatiable desire of their persecutors, may be forced to fly, and glad to have their lives for a prey.

“ The means whereby they are impoverished, are their scrupling an oath, and for their meetings ; It being found that they had a conscientious scruple against swearing, all were called upon to take the oath of fidelity, which they refusing, a clause was added, That if any man refused or neglected to take it by such a time, he should pay 5l. or depart the colony : They are required to take the oath again at every successive court, and as they cannot, they are distrained over and over again. On this

“ account

“ account thirty-five head of cattle, as I have
 “ been credibly informed, have been by the
 “ authority of our court taken from them the
 “ latter part of this summer.

CHAP
 XVI.
 ~~~~~  
 1660.

“ The last court of assistants—the court was  
 “ pleased to determine fines on Sandwich men  
 “ for meetings 150l. whereof William Newland  
 “ is charged 24l. for himself and wife; William  
 “ Allen 45l. and a poor weaver 20l. Brother  
 “ Cook told me, one of the brethren was in the  
 “ house, when the marshal came to demand the  
 “ money, when all that he was worth did not  
 “ amount to 10l. What will be the end of such  
 “ courses or practices the Lord only knows!

“ Our civil powers are so exercised in mat-  
 “ ters of religion and conscience, that we have  
 “ no time to do any thing that tends to promote  
 “ the civil prosperity of the place. We must  
 “ now have a state religion, such as the powers  
 “ of this world will allow, and no other; a state  
 “ ministry and a state way of maintenance, and  
 “ we must worship and serve the Lord Jesus  
 “ as the world shall appoint us; we must all  
 “ go to the publick place of meeting in the pa-  
 “ rish where we dwell, or be presented. I am  
 “ informed of three or fourscore last court pre-  
 “ sented for not coming to public meetings, at  
 “ ten shillings a time.

“ We are wrapped up in a labyrinth of con-  
 “ fused laws, that the freemen’s power is quite  
 “ gone. Sandwich men may not go to the bay,  
 “ lest they be taken up for Quakers. William  
 “ Newland was there about his occasions ten  
 “ days ago, and they put him in prison twenty-  
 “ four hours, and sent for divers to witness  
 “ against him, but had not proof enough to  
 “ make him a Quaker, which if they had, he  
 “ should



CHAP. "Should have been whipped; nay, they may  
 XVI. "not go about their occasions in other towns in  
 "our colony; but warrants lie in ambush to  
 "apprehend and bring them before a magistrate,  
 "to give an account of their business.

"JAMES CUDWORTH."

Robert  
 Hodgson.

J. Bound.

I do not find that during this period, any of those called Quakers had as yet visited any other of the American settlements on the continent, except the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, (now New York) where some of them, particularly Robert Hodgson, underwent grievous sufferings from the Dutch governor, by the instigation and example of the New England persecutors. But the Dutch governor after some time relented, excused their imprisoning and banishing, as being short of the cruelty of the Quakers own countrymen in New England: And John Bound having been treated very hardly by him, imprisoned in a cold dungeon, almost famished there, and banished to Holland, where the states giving him his liberty he returned home again; and some time after the governor meeting him in the street, seemed ashamed of what he had done, and told him *He was glad to see him safe home again; adding, he hoped he should never do so any more to any of his friends*: A token of repentance, and of an ingenuous disposition, such as few, if any, of the New England persecutors ever discovered.

Except also the province of *Maryland*, where in or about the year 1658 several of the inhabitants, being convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, were brought under suffering, but in little degree of comparison with  
 the



the sufferings in New England, being mostly in fines for non-compliance with the military laws, and their conscientious refusal to take an oath.

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## C H A P. XVII.

### E U R O P E and A S I A.

*William Caton goes to Calais.—Afterwards to Holland with John Stubbs.—To Holland a second Time.—William Caton at Rotterdam and Amsterdam meets with little satisfaction.—Is imprisoned at Middleburgh, and sent back to England.—Christopher Birkhead goes to France.—Thence to Middleburgh in Zealand.—Accusation against him.—His Defence.—He is condemned to the Rasphouse for two Years.—George Bailey dies in Prison in France.—George Robinson, in a Journey to Jerusalem, meets with a Variety of Dangers.—Through which he was preserved to return home in safety.—Mary Fisher travels to Adrianople to visit Sultan Mahomet 4th.—By whom her Visit is favourably received.*

THE divine light which the people called C H A P. XVII.  
 Quakers believed in and testified of, they be-  
 lieved to be universal. “That true light, which  
 “lighteth every man that cometh into the  
 “world.” So was their good-will to mankind, and  
 desire to bring them to the acknowledgment of the  
 truth, and to turn the attention of their minds  
 to





CHAP. to this light, also universal. They did not con-  
 XVII. fine their labours and travels, in this early day,  
 ~~~~~ to the British dominions solely; but from a con-  
 1655. vincing evidence of a divine impulse upon their
 spirits, and a necessity of obedience thereunto,
 they were animated to travel, even as with their
 lives in their hands, into different states of the
 continent of Europe, and even into Asia, to bear
 testimony to the truth, in the face of its greatest
 opposers; for being supported by the inward con-
 sciousness of being engaged in a good cause,
 they were borne up above the fear of man; and
 feeling the divine presence accompanying them
 through the greatest difficulties, some of them
 were enabled chearfully to lay down their lives
 in his service, who, they believed, had called
 them thereto; and others were preserved by
 signal deliverances from imminent dangers, to
 which they were exposed.

W. Caton
 goes to
 Calais.

William Caton being at Dover, as before re-
 lated, went over to Calais, where his spirit was
 burdened in beholding the idolatry of their wor-
 ship, but he could not ease his spirit by pointing
 out to them a better way, as he was not master
 of the French language; and therefore was on
 the point of returning home without finding any
 opportunity of service there; yet afterwards it was
 ordered, that several of the principal inhabitants
 sought him out, and gave him a favourable hear-
 ing at a large house in the town, where a Scotch
 Lord interpreting for him, he cleared his con-
 science in declaring the doctrines of truth, and
 then departed without molestation.

To Holland
 with John
 Stubbs.

Upon his return to Dover he found his com-
 panion John Stubbs there, with whom he passed
 over to Holland, but they found little favour-
 able

able reception for their ministry there at that time. C H A P. XVII.

In the next year, 1656, William Ames, John Stubbs and William Caton went over to Holland again. At Amsterdam they met with some English people, who received the doctrine they preached, but the impression it made upon them was not lasting. William Caton travelled to Rotterdam, where for want of an interpreter that understood English, he was obliged to deliver himself in Latin. Here he was much troubled in meeting with some wild and unruly persons, who having been partly convinced by William Ames, went under the denomination of Quakers, but ran out in such whimsical imaginations and unmeaning extravagancies in their expressions, writings and conduct, that the magistrates thought them not unfit objects for imprisonment in Bedlam. The ringleader of these people was one Isaac Furnier, a passionate, capricious man, placing holiness in absurd conduct, and incedent incivility of language, with whom the genuine Quakers could have no unity, although he had translated several of their writings into the Dutch language, and thereby might seem to lay claim to the name. At last he turned Papist, and fell into a dissolute, debauched life.

From Rotterdam William Caton returned to Amsterdam, but met with little more satisfaction there. For there were several professors, who were ready to approve the doctrine of the Quakers, but being airy notionists, were more intent in comprehending it in theory, than reducing it to practice, too wise for instruction, and too full of their own wisdom and speculations to receive the truth in the love of it. Amongst such opinionated

W. Caton
at Amster-
dam meets
with little
satisfaction.

CHAP. XVII. **n**onated professors seeing little probability of much service, he left them, and returned by Rotterdam to Zealand; arriving at Middleburgh in company with a young man, who went to some of their meeting places in that city, he was apprehended. William Caton hearing of his imprisonment, and going to visit him in prison, was himself detained there some days; but being at that time indisposed, the magistrates ordered them both to be sent to England. In consequence whereof they were conducted by a guard of soldiers on board a ship of war, where William Caton in his infirm state suffered great hardship, the seamen being so ill natured, that they would not allow him so much as a piece of sail cloth, but he was obliged to lie upon the bare boards in very cold and stormy weather; yet through the merciful support of divine providence under this hard usage, he recovered strength till he arrived in London, where he was received with much cordiality by his friends.

Is imprisoned at Middleburgh and sent to England.

1657. Christopher Birkhead went over to France, and was imprisoned at Rochelle for advancing some objections against the Romish religion, where he was first examined by the bishop; and some bigotted zealots wanted to have him condemned to the flames, but the criminal judge absolved him. After which in the beginning of this year he travelled into Holland, and arriving at Middleburgh, he went to the English congregation there, and after their preacher William Spank had preached about three quarters of an hour, he thus spake, "Friends, the Apostles saith, That we may prophesy one by one, that two or three prophets may speak, and the others judge, and if any thing be revealed

" to

1657. Chr. Birkhead goes to France,

thence to Middleburgh in Zealand.

“to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace.” CHAP. XVII.
 This caused a great stir in the congregation, whereupon Birkhead, instead of being further heard, was apprehended and detained in custody. 1657.
 On the 19th 1^{mo}. 1657, the following charge was exhibited against him.

“The bailiff of the city of Middleburgh Accusation against him.
 “demandeth, according to his office, against
 “Christopher Birkhead.

“WHEREAS the said Christopher Birkhead
 “is a maker of uproars, seditions, and a blasphemous
 “phemer against the servants, ministers or
 “preachers of the reformed churches,
 “Therefore it is demanded, that the ensuing
 “punishments be inflicted on him; first, that he
 “be brought before the Stadthouse, and there
 “be put upon a scaffold and whipped with rods,
 “and burned with the mark of this city of
 “Middleburgh, and for some years to be put
 “in the Rasp-house, and there to rasp and
 “work, the time left to the discretion of the
 “Lords, and afterwards to be banished out of
 “the jurisdiction of these lands.”

I regret that occasions occur so frequently in Remark.
 the progress of this work, to remark the unchristian temper and vindictive spirit which actuated those high professors of religion, who assumed to themselves the title of *reformed churches*, in different quarters of the world; as the repetition of reflections naturally arising from my subject, may be misconstrued to arise from a personal dislike to this body of men: But as I trust I am disposed and desirous to pay a proper regard to the reformed religion in its purity, viz. sincerity of heart toward God, in my own conduct, so I highly respect it in all men, and every society

CHAP. society of men under whatever denomination

XVII. they may be distinguished. My reflections are

not pointed so much at any body of men, as at

1657. things disgraceful to every body of men. Not at any profession of religion, but at things inconsistent with religion and morality; *cruelty, malice, injustice and revenge*, being properties as opposite to christianity, as darkness to light.

It is evident that the punishments demanded against this man are quite disproportionate to any just offence he had given, by simply reminding an auditory of the apostolical order established in the worship of the primitive church, as an introduction to what he thought it his duty to declare unto them. The charge and the requisition of punishment bear the plain marks of passion, injustice and virulence, putting an offender, in so small an instance, on a level with the basest criminals, and incensing the magistrates to inflict on an honest man, for an action simply religious, the severest and most disgraceful punishments the malice of his persecutors could contrive.

Chr. Birkhead puts in his defence.

The prisoner put in his defence, in reply to the charges exhibited against him; wherein he denies and confutes them all: that he made no uproar or sedition, such a thing being the farthest from his disposition, thoughts or intention. That he was no more a maker of uproars than Paul and Silas at Thyatira (Acts xvi, 19.) Or than Paul was at Ephesus, when no small stir arose about that way (Acts ix, 23, &c.) That if any uproar was made, justice pointed out for punishment those who made it, who were the rude multitude, that gave him much personal abuse, and cast him into prison, when he neither did or thought evil against them. As to the charge

charge of his being a * blasphemer against the servants, ministers or preachers of the churches, he answered, "The servants of the church reformed by Christ are my brethren, and the ministers and preachers thereof I honour in the Lord, but if any profess to be reformed and live in iniquity, such I disown."

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1657.

Next, in regard to the required punishments of whipping and branding, he asserted himself no beggar nor infamous person, having asked for nothing but what he paid for; and had brought a sufficiency from home to bear his charges thither again, if not restrained by them too long in a foreign land.

And as to the third punishment, of being committed to the Rasp-house, he signified, he was not an idle person who had need to be forced to work, but was a man diligent in his outward employments to maintain his family, of which he could produce many witnesses, if he might have permission to write home: and in this punishment that his suffering would not be single, but that of his wife and children would be involved in it.

His defence prevented the inflicting of the more ignominious parts of the demanded punishments; but the magistrates gratified his adversaries so far as to sentence him to be put in the Rasp-house for two years, and then be banished, and pay all the charge. Accordingly he was put into the Rasp-house, and continued there two years, suffering much hardship. And after the expiration of the time, he was still detained under pretence of fees and other claims made by

He is condemned to the Rasp-house for two years.

VOL. I.

D d

the

* This word is used here in a very uncommon and unscriptural sense.

CHAP. the keeper, till at length he was set at liberty
 XVII. by the interposition of Heer Newport, ambassador
 of the States-General in England. A very
 1657. severe punishment for uttering a portion of scrip-
 ture.

G. Bailey
 goes to
 France and
 dies in pri-
 son.

About the same time George Bailey coming into France, and zealously testifying against popery and worshipping of images, was apprehended and cast into prison, and there ended his days.

G. Robinson
 goes to Je-
 rusalem and
 meets with
 a variety of
 occurrences.

In this year also George Robinson, a young man of London, found himself constrained, from an internal conviction of duty, to travel to Jerusalem, to bear testimony against the idolatry of pilgrimages. Accordingly he embarked for Leghorn, and from thence took shipping for St. John D'acra, so called, formerly Ptolemais in Asia, and from thence continued his course to Joppa, and thence to Ramoth; but the friars at Jerusalem having received intelligence of his approach, and that his testimony struck at the superstition, whereby they were supported, procured him here to be intercepted and confined. After about twenty-four hours imprisonment, an ancient Turk of reputation took him to his house, and entertained him with much civility several days; at length an Irish friar came from Jerusalem, and informed him that he was sent by his fraternity there to propose to him three questions, viz.

1. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places, as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay such sums of money as it was customary with pilgrims to pay?

3. Whether

3. Whether he would wear such a habit as pilgrims usually wear? CHAP. XVII.

To which questions the following injunctions were added: 1657.

1. Not to speak any thing against the *Turkish* laws.

2. When he should come to Jerusalem not to speak any thing about religion.

© But steadfastly refusing to answer their questions, or to submit to their injunctions, he was, by the said friar, who had brought with him a guard of horse and foot for that purpose, taken forcibly away, carried back to Joppa, and there embarked in a vessel, which landed him again at St. John D'acra; here he was hospitably entertained by a French merchant, and by his assistance, being still under an apprehension of duty to prosecute his journey, he got an opportunity to return to Joppa, and from thence travelled on foot to Ramoth. On the road he fell into the hands of three robbers, who plundered him, but either by reason of his innocent behaviour moving them to compassion, or the ordering of Divine Providence, they returned him what they had taken from him, and conducted him a little on his way in a friendly manner. Upon his arrival at Ramoth he was seized by the contrivance of the friars, and forcibly carried into one of the Turkish mosques, it being said to be a custom amongst the Turks, that whosoever enters one of their mosques must either turn mahometan or suffer death. He was accordingly interrogated, "Whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion?" And upon his refusing, they pressed him with much solicitation;

CHAP. sollicitation; but he persisting in his refusal, and
 XVII. letting them know he could not turn to their
 religion for all the world, some of them at
 1657. length grew angry, and declared if he did not
 turn to their religion he should die; to which,
 replying, "He would rather chuse the hard
 "alternative of suffering death than violate his
 "conscience by turning to them," he was de-
 livered to the executioner, who dragged him
 away to the place, where it was expected, he
 should be burned to death. Here they caused
 him to sit down on the ground, as a sheep
 amongst wolves. As he sat, resigned in his
 mind, with inward supplication, and trust in
 divine protection, the divine Providence inter-
 posed for his deliverance, for some of the
 Turks having observed that his entrance into
 the mosque was not voluntary, but by a crafty
 contrivance of the friars to ensnare him, they
 began to differ in their opinions about him,
 when a grave ancient Turk came to him, and
 told him, *Whether he would turn to their re-*
ligion or not, he should not die. Then being
 brought before the priests again, and the query
 put to him, *Will you turn?* and he answering,
No, they recorded in a book, that *he was no*
Roman Catholick, but of another religion; for
 though he owned himself a Christian, yet his
 declarations against their superstitions, and the
 enmity of the friars against him, plainly dis-
 covered he was not of their communion. Next,
 the friars having exerted themselves to incense
 the Basha of Gaza against him, and hoping
 that by their insinuations they had made him
 Robinson's enemy, they hired a guard of horse-
 men to conduct him to Gaza, where being ar-
 rived,

rived, he found things had taken an unexpected turn in his favour; for some of the Turks having informed the Bashah of the malice of the friars against the man, he made them pay a considerable fine, and obliged them to convey him safely to Jerusalem. Being come thither, he was, by the appointment of the friars, brought into their convent.

Here the friars used every artifice to prevail with him to conform to the superstitious customs of the pilgrims of their communion, in visiting the holy places, (as they termed them) offering, in that case, to relinquish their usual demands, and that *whereas others paid great sums of money to see them, he should see them for nothing*; but believing his mission as to them was to bear testimony against the superstitious veneration for those places, propagated and upheld by them for filthy lucre, he steadfastly resisted all their solicitations and flattering persuasions, alledged, *that in visiting those places in their manner he should sin against God: That they under a pretence of doing service to God, in visiting those places where the holy men of God dwelt, did oppose that way, and resist that life, which the holy men of God walked and lived in*; upon which one of the friars said, “What do you preach to us for?” To which he answered, *That he would have them turn from those evil practices, else the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled against them.* This doctrine being highly ungrateful they insisted upon his paying five and twenty dollars, under pretence that the Turks must be paid, whether he would visit the usual places or not, but if he would visit them they would pay for him; but he signified,

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1657.

CHAP. signified, *He could not comply with any such unreasonable demands.*
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1657.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who asked him divers questions, to which he returned solid answers. And entering into conversation about the worship of Christians, the Turk asked Robinson, *What was the cause of his coming to Jerusalem?* To which he answered, *It was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was manifest in visiting them, his compassionate mercies being such as that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering.*

Returns in safety.

Having borne his testimony against the superstition of the friars, and discharged himself of the message he believed himself sent to deliver, he found, as he declared, great peace with the Lord, magnifying his glorious name, who had favoured him with his supporting power, and signally preserved him through many trials and dangers; for the friars, who had intended him a mischief, and meditated his destruction, were restrained by the authority of the Turks, and by them obliged to conduct him back again to Ramoth. Thus delivered from the hands of his enemies he returned to his native country.

Mary Fisher hath a concern to visit Sultan Mahomet IV.

But the concern of Mary Fisher, a religious maiden, whose sufferings in New England have been already related, is still more remarkable, both for the extraordinary nature thereof, and the reception she met with. Being returned to London, she felt a religious concern upon her mind, to pay a visit to Sultan Mahomet IV. then encamped

encamped with his army near Adrianople. Accordingly she proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, where she was stopped by the English consul and sent back to Venice, from whence she made her way by land to Adrianople, being preserved from any manner of abuse through a long journey of five or six hundred miles. Being come thither, she communicated her business to some of the citizens, and requested them to accompany her to the camp, but fearing the Sultan's displeasure they declined compliance, wherefore she went to the camp alone, and procured intelligence to be given to the Grand Vizier, that *there was an English woman who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan*, who sent her word that *she should speak to him the next morning*. She returned to the city that night, and back to the camp at the time appointed, when the Sultan, attended by his great officers of state, sent for her in, and asked her, *Whether what had been reported to him was fact, that she had a message from the Lord?* She answered in the affirmative; upon which he bid her *speak on*; and as she stood silent a little, with her mind retired in inward supplication, and waiting for the proper motion and power to give weight and energy to what she had to deliver, the Sultan supposing she might be oppressed with awe, to utter herself before them all, asked her whether *she desired that any of the company might retire?* she answered, *Nay*; then he desired her to speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it; strictly charging her to *speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less*, for they

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Is favourably received.

CHAP. they were willing to hear it, be it what it
 XVII.
 1657. would. Upon her speaking they all gave attention with much seriousness and gravity 'till she had concluded, and then the Sultan enquired *if she had any more to say*. She asked, if he understood what she had said? He replied, *Yea, every word*, adding that *it was truth*, and desired her to stay in the country, for they could not but respect one who had taken so much pains as to come so far with such a message, and offered her a guard to escort her to Constantinople, whither she intended to go; which kind offer she modestly declined, confiding in that divine arm which had brought her thither for her safe conduct home again. He reminded her it was dangerous travelling alone, especially for such a one as her, and seemed to admire she had passed safe so far, adding, *it was out of respectful concern for her safety he offered her a guard, as he would not for any consideration she should suffer the least injury in his dominions*. Then they asked, *What she thought of their prophet Mahomet?* She made a cautious reply, that *she knew him not; but she knew Christ, the true prophet, the son of God; who was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*, adding, *If the word that the prophet speaketh cometh to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know the Lord never sent him*; to which they assented, and acknowledged it to be truth; and so she departed to Constantinople without a guard, and arrived there in safety without the least injury or insult, and afterwards in England. When we contrast this candid

candid reception which she met with from those we account infidels, with that which she found amongst the self-opinionated professors of christianity in New England, we cannot but regret, that the best religion the world was ever blessed with, and in its own purity so far surpassing in excellence, should, on the comparison with human infidelity, be so tarnished, through the degeneracy of its professors, who under the name of Christian, in morality, generosity and humanity, fall short of those who name not the name of Christ. Is not her remarkable preservation in this long and tedious journey an argument of the truth of her mission, and of divine Providence protecting her in the performance of her duty, and in yielding obedience to divine requirings.

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1657.

HISTORY

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
P E O P L E C A L L E D ' Q U A K E R S .

B O O K III.

From the Restoration of King Charles II.
to his Declaration of Indulgence.

C H A P. I.

The Members of the Presbyterian Party restored to their Seats in Parliament.—A new Parliament elected.—The King restored.—Seven Hundred of the People called Quakers released from Prison.—The Mayor of Lancaster imprisons George Fox.—Margaret Fell's Narrative of his Apprehension.—She lays his Case before the King.—Habeas Corpus obtained to remove him to the King's Bench.—Referred to the King and Council.—He is set at liberty.—Richard Hubbertson hath a Conference with the King.

THE convulsed state of the nation at this period inciting most men of moderation and consequence to an earnest wish for some settled stable form of government, paved the way for the

C H A P. I.
1660.

CHAP. I. the exiled prince's restoration to the throne of his ancestors. The members of the Presbyterian party, who were secluded in 1648, being by Monk restored to their seats in parliament, upon their entrance, the independent members finding themselves the minority, withdrew, and left the management of affairs to their antagonists, who soon after dissolved their assembly, and issued writs for the election of a free parliament, which meeting on the 25th of the month called April, the house of lords received a letter from the king from Breda, expressing his hopes, that as they were now restored to their privileges, they would use their endeavours to appease the troubles of the kingdom, re-establish himself in possession of his just prerogatives, the parliament in that of their privileges, and the people of their liberties. At the same time his declaration was delivered, wherein, amongst other benefits to the subject, he promised to indulge tender and scrupulous consciences in matters of religion *. And a like letter and declaration being also delivered to the commons, King Charles the second was in consequence restored to the sovereignty of these kingdoms by the united consent

1660.
The members of the Presbyterian party restored to their seats in parliament.

A free parliament elected.

The king restored.

* " Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times
" have produced several opinions in religion, by which men
" are engaged in parties and animosities against each other,
" which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of
" conversation, will be composed or better understood, We
" do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man
" shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of
" opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the
" peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to con-
" sent to such an *act of parliament*, as upon mature delibera-
" tion shall be offered to us for the full granting that indul-
" gence." King Charles's declaration from Breda.

consent of the other two estates of the nation, CHAP. I.
 and after an exile of twelve years, in which he
 had suffered many slights and distresses; after
 fundry ineffectual efforts of his partisans to
 restore him by the sword, through the ordering
 hand of Divine Providence, he was at last peace-
 ably restored without bloodshed. 1660.

The society of those called Quakers, at least,
 (as appears by their writings) in general, looked
 upon the restoration of the king as a signal
 instance of the interposition of Divine Providence
 in restoring peace and order to the distract-
 ed nation, of which they were not wanting
 repeatedly to remind both the king and people :
 And if these had looked upon it in the same
 light with becoming gratitude and thankfulness,
 they might have been preserved in a greater
 propriety of conduct; but this revolution in the
 government was productive of a scandalous alter-
 ation in the manners of the age. This king, and
 many of his courtiers, having in their exile,
 through a season of successive indolence, and
 from their aversion to the precise formality of
 the authors of their humiliation, contracted
 habits of voluptuousness, sensuality and libertin-
 ism in sentiment and morals; by their example,
 and the propensity of human nature, more sa-
 gacious to descry error than to investigate truth,
 to transgress the limits of rectitude and to run
 from one extreme to another; the nation, in
 too general a way, became very corrupt and
 licentious in their way of thinking and conduct.
 Because the late rulers appeared to have disguised
 pernicious designs under a mask of religion, it
 became fashionable to ridicule every appearance
 of religion and of sobriety as mere hypocrisy;
 and

CHAP. and in this aversion to the appearance, the reality
 I. was lost. The temper of the age was truly
 1660. irreligious, and debauchery, riot and intemperance, to a great degree, took place of the apparent decorum and regard to sobriety in the manners of the preceding age*.

In

* Neale gives the following description of the temper of the people under this and the preceding governments :

“ The dress and conversation of the people was sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: “ There was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year, and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him, that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, in catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kinds of games, stage plays and abuses in public houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in *England* for almost twenty years.

“ But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. “ The times which followed the restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. *Women attresses* were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage, and the more obscene the better was the king pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wild fire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety.” Neale’s history of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 564, 565.

In this interval of general joy and festivity the Quakers (so called) enjoyed a good degree of quiet and respite from the grievous sufferings to which they had been for many years exposed under the preceding governments; their meetings in London and most other parts were large, and held without molestation during the first six months after the King's restoration. Cruelty was not reckoned amongst the vices to which this monarch was addicted, the easiness of his temper inclining to lenity, he appeared at this time well disposed to act up to his professions in his declaration from Breda. At the intercession of Margaret Fell and others he released about seven hundred of this people, who had been imprisoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and an order was drawn up for permitting them the free exercise of their worship; but by some in authority, of less placable dispositions, who disapproved of any toleration, as being retentive of the injuries they conceived themselves to have suffered from the dissenters during their rule, and desirous of an opportunity to retaliate: the ratification and issuing of this order was obstructed, till the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men furnished them the opportunity they wanted, and gave them a pretext to commence the oppressive measures which they had in contemplation.

Yet in some parts they were greatly molested and abused in their religious meetings during this interval. Some of the inferior magistrates of the former class, who still retained their places, and their inimical dispositions towards this body of people, continued to be vexatious

1.
1660.
Friends released from prison.

CHAP. to them ; in particular, Henry Porter, mayor

I. of Lancaster, a weak temporizing man, who
 had been a zealous partisan of the republicans,
 and very active against the King's interest, in
 order, it is like, to make an atonement for his
 past misdemeanours, and to ingratiate himself
 with the present powers, from a pretended zeal
 for the King, committed George Fox to prison,
 very unjustly and illegally. In the course of
 his travels he came to Skipton to a general
 meeting, which had been several years esta-
 blished there, (before the general establishment
 of meetings of discipline) for the charitable
 purpose of assisting and making provision for
 the poor amongst them ; for many, as we have
 seen, were reduced to poverty by exorbitant
 fines, severe distresses and imprisonments, so
 that numbers were spoiled of the whole of their
 property through the malice of unreasonable
 men. It had frequently happened that justices
 and military officers coming to break up this
 meeting, when they saw their books, and ac-
 counts of their collections and disbursements,
 and the care that was taken that one county
 should help another, as circumstances might
 require, instead of executing their purpose,
 have been obliged to commend their care, and
 leave them undisturbed in the exercise of the
 laudable object of their meeting. The poor of
 other societies frequently gathering in crouds
 upon these occasions partook of their liberality,
 it being their custom, after the meeting was
 over, to send to the bakers for bread, and dis-
 tribute a loaf to each, how many soever they
 were ; yet these are the men on whom the con-
 temptuous epithet of fanatick was so freely
 bestowed,

1660.
 Henry
 Porter,
 mayor of
 Lancaster,
 commits
 G. Fox to
 prison.

bestowed, by those who had no right to apply the appellation, for their religion instructed them to do good to all, but especially to the household of faith; and never to introduce disorder in the state, or do injury to any man.

CHAP.
I.

1660.

From this meeting he went over by Lancaster to Swarthmore to the house of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, her husband having been deceased about two years before: This was about the time of the King's restoration, being in the month called June, when four constables came to the said house with a warrant from the aforesaid Porter, apprehended him, and took him that night to Ulverston, where they kept him under a guard of fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom kept centry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage, so darkened were they by superstitious imaginations. Next morning they escorted him to Lancaster, exposing him to much abusive and contumelious treatment; causing him to ride on an horse behind the saddle, and otherwise manifesting their malicious temper in their ill usage of him; and brought him before the said Porter, to whom he complained of the unworthy treatment, he had received from the constables after he was their prisoner, but without redress. George then enquired by *what authority he had issued out his warrant to take him?* To which Porter would give no further satisfaction, than *that he had an order, but would not let him see it, for he would not reveal the King's secrets*, adding, *a prisoner was not to see for what he was committed*; a palpable instance of his want of qualification for his office: George Fox signified that was not

CHAP. reasonable, for how should he make his defence then? After some more discourse his mittimus was made out; the jailer sent for, and commanded to put him in the dark house; and though bail was offered for his appearance, it was refused, and he committed close prisoner to Lancaster castle, where he was treated with great incivility and rudeness, being often debarred of provisions, but as he could get them under the door. He then desired two of his friends to apply to the jailer for a copy of the mittimus, who told them, *He could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for a similar offence*; but he gave them liberty to read it over, and according to the best of their recollection, the charges advanced against him were, *that he was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the King, and a chief upholder of the Quakers sect: That he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood: Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep him in safe custody till he should be released by order of the king and parliament.*

A copy of his mittimus applied for and refused, but his friends are permitted to view it.

G. Fox answers it.

Having thus got the substance of the charges contained in his mittimus, he thought himself called upon, in vindication of his innocency, to publish an immediate reply to every particular charge, clearly proving them to be downright falsehoods. That he was not generally suspected to be a common disturber of the nation's peace, having given no cause for such suspicion, his conduct having always been inoffensive and remote from disorder. That he was not an enemy

to the king, but loved him and all men, neither had he any reason to be his enemy, who had treated him with no rigour or offered him no injury, whereas he had been imprisoned and persecuted for eleven or twelve years by those men, who were in open hostility both against the king and his father, for whom Porter carried arms, and by whom he was advanced to the rank of a major, but had suffered no injurious treatment from the king's friends. And in reply to the charge, 'that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood,' he says, this is altogether false, he being, as to these things, as innocent as a child, and clear of any concern therein. As for the term *fanatick*, Porter was not the man to apply it to him and his friends, but might have considered himself, and learned humility at this season, in applying nearer home the fanatick opinions, which raise insurrections and embroil the whole kingdom in blood.

Margaret Fell also, considering the forcible entry and searching of her house, and arresting her guest there, as a violation of the liberty of the subject, and an injury offered to her, published the following brief narrative of his apprehension:

Margaret Fell publishes a narrative of his apprehension.

CHAP

I.

1660.

To all Magistrates, concerning the wrong taking up and imprisoning of George Fox at Lancaster.

“ I do inform the governors of this nation,
 “ that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, sent
 “ a warrant with four constables to my house,
 “ for which he had no authority nor order.
 “ They searched my house, and apprehended
 “ George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the
 “ breach of any law, or of any offence against
 “ any in the nation. After they had taken him,
 “ and brought him before the said Henry Porter,
 “ there was bail offered, what he would demand
 “ for his appearance, to answer what could be
 “ laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law,
 “ if he had taken him lawfully) denied to ac-
 “ cept of any bail, and clapt him up in close
 “ prison. After he was in prison, a copy of his
 “ mittimus was demanded, which ought not to
 “ be denied to any prisoner, that so he may see
 “ what is laid to his charge: but it was denied
 “ him, a copy he could not have, only they were
 “ suffered to read it over. And every thing
 “ there charged against him was utterly false;
 “ he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as
 “ will be proved, and manifested to the nation.
 “ So let the governors consider of it. I am
 “ concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was
 “ apprehended in my house, and if he be guilty
 “ I am so too. So I desire to have this searched
 “ out.

MARGARET FELL.”

Margaret

Margaret Fell further determined to take a CHAP.
I.
 journey to London, to solicit the King's protection, and lay the circumstances of George Fox's imprisonment before him; which when Porter understood he went also, with a view to frustrate her endeavours: but when he made his appearance at court, having been a zealous partisan for the parliament, and being charged by some of the courtiers with plundering their houses, he thought it safest to make a speedy retreat, and return home. So Margaret Fell being joined by Anne Curtis (whose father had been sheriff of Bristol, and had suffered death for endeavouring to bring in the King) on whose account they were favourably received, laid the case of George Fox before the King, requesting his favourable interposition, *to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself*; which request he readily complied with, and gave command to his secretary to send down an order for his removal accordingly; upon their application to the secretary, he informed them that according to law he must be brought up by habeas corpus before the judges; and writ to the judge of the King's-bench, that it was the King's pleasure, that George Fox should be removed to London by habeas corpus, which was accordingly procured and sent to the sheriff of Lancashire. But as his persecutors were sensible, that there were no grounds for the high insinuations of danger contained in his mittimus, and that they could bring no shadow of proof against him, being conscious, that their proceedings in his committal and detention could not bear the test, they sought many evasions, objecting first to the informality of the writ, next insisting on his bearing the charge of sending him up under a guard; this unjust requisition

1660.
 Margaret
 Fell lays his
 case before
 the King.

A habeas
 corpus ob-
 tained to
 remove him
 to London,

CHAP. I. quifition he perfifted, in regard of his innocence, to refufe compliance with: at laft, after two months hesitation, they permitted him to go up in company with fome of his friends without any guard, on his verbal promife to appear before the judges at Weftminfter upon a certain day of the term, if the Lord permitted. A clear demonstration that his imprifonment was the mere effect of malice, and wanton defpotifm in the republican mayor, and that his perfecutors themfelves did not really believe him to be the man, they endeavoured to represent him.

1660.
permitted
to go thither
without a
guard.

Appears in
the court of
King's-
bench.

Referred to
the King
and council.

Ordered to
be fet at
liberty.

George Fox, whose promife was acknowledged to be a fufficient bond for his appearance, prefented himfelf in the court of King's-bench accordingly, being accompanied by two of his friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers, together with efquire Marfh of the King's bedchamber. The charge againft him was read, the people were moderate, and the judges difpaffionate and favourable; no accufer appearing to prove the charges againft him, efquire Marfh fignified to the judges, that it was the King's pleafure that George Fox fhould be fet at liberty; upon which the judges enquiring of him, whether he would be willing to refer the matter to the King and council, he readily confented.—Wherefore the judges caufed the fheriffs return of the habeas corpus to be laid before the King, who upon confideration of the whole matter, and the futility of unfupported crimination, gave directions to the fecretary of ftate to fend an order to Sir Thomas Mallet, one of the juftices of the King's-bench, for his releafe, who in confequence iffued his warrant to the marfh of that court to fet him at liberty, after an unjuft and fevere imprifonment for more than 20 weeks.

His

His liberty, thus honourably obtained, filled his antagonists with vexation and fear: Porter in particular was greatly terrified, under the apprehension that George would avail himself by law of the advantage, which the temerity and illegality of his injurious treatment had given, to the utter ruin of himself and family: and George Fox did not want incitement, even from some in authority, to make him and the rest examples: but he, esteeming it his duty as a christian to forgive injuries, meekly replied, "*I shall leave them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them.*"

C H A P.
I.
1660.

It was just at this time that several of the late King's judges were brought to their trials, condemned and executed in an ignominious manner: when George Fox came to London, he passed a multitude of people gathered at Charing-cross, to see the burning of the bowels of some of them, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered pursuant to their sentence; and when he went next morning to surrender himself to Sir Thomas Mallet, he found him preparing to go to the court, to sit upon the trial of others of them.

Amongst the rest that suffered on this occasion, was Col. Francis Hacker, who six years before had George Fox taken prisoner, and sent up in custody to Oliver Cromwell, as hath been related in its course. In this reverse of his fortune, he had cause to reflect upon George's parting expressions, "When the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, then to remember what he had said to him." Margaret Fell, visiting him in prison a day or two before his execution, reminded him of his maltreatment of the innocent in the day of his power: he acknowledged

C H A P. I. knowledge that he perceived whom she meant, and felt trouble for it.

1660.

Hugh Peters also, a furious independent preacher, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, suffered with the Regicides, and with equal justice, as having by his inflammatory harangues incited the army to demand the death of the late King. When men assuming the character of ministers of the gospel depart so far from their proper province, as to excite tumult and bloodshed in the state, they forfeit all just pretensions to the character they assume. The fomenters of sedition, ill-will and party animosity clearly manifest themselves not to be messengers of the Prince of peace.

Rich. Hubberthorn hath a conference with the King.

About this time Richard Hubberthorn obtained access to the King, and upon laying before him the excessive sufferings of his friends under the late rulers, and that the like were even now continued in some part of the nation under his rule; the King was pleased to enter into a free conversation with him concerning the principles of this people, and was so well satisfied with his account thereof, that he expressed his disposition to protect them, in the following terms; "Of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a King for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you, or abuse you." But this promise, ratified by *the word of a King*, was very unfaithfully kept.

CHAP. II.

Insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy Men.—Occasion taken from thence to bring Dissenters under suspicion of disloyalty.—Proclamation issued against Anabaptists, Quakers and Fifth-monarchy Men.—Great Sufferings, in consequence thereof, attend the People called Quakers.—The Prisons in many Places crowded with them.—George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn publish a Declaration of their Abhorrence of Plots.—Margaret Fell solicits the King on behalf of her imprisoned Friends.—Proclamation for their discharge.—Afterwards persecuted on obsolete Laws against Popish Recusants.

THUS encouraged, they seemed to have a prospect of better times than they had experienced since they were distinguished as a separate society; their meetings were very large and quiet, multitudes flocked to them from curiosity or better motives, many were convinced, and their numbers greatly encreased; but this calm was of no long duration. For in the 11^{mo} (called January) this year an insurrection was made by the Fifth-monarchy men (of whom mention hath been made before) under the conduct of one Venner a wine-cooper, who having animated his followers to the desperate attempt by a passionate harangue, that the time was now come to establish the kingdom of Jesus upon earth, before the new government should be fixed and established under the dominion of the restored monarch,

CHAP.
II.

1660.

Insurrection
of the
Fifth mon-
archy
men.

CHAP. II.
 1660. monarch, issued forth from their meeting place, with fifty or sixty followers completely armed, with a resolution to subvert the present government, and to establish their imaginary kingdom in the place thereof. At first every one fled before them; they went triumphantly from street to street, every where proclaiming King Jesus. At length the magistrates having assembled the trained bands, made an attack upon them; after defending themselves, and slaying several of the assailants, they made a regular retreat to Cane-wood near Hampstead; from which being dislodged the next morning by a detachment of the guards, they returned again to the city, and took possession of an house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops till the major part were killed. The few survivors being taken prisoners, were tried, condemned and executed^s; Venner and one of his officers, before their meeting-house door in Coleman-street, and nine others in different parts of the city.

Occasion
 taken from
 thence to
 bring the
 Dissenters
 under sus-
 picion of
 disloyalty.

This wild attempt of a very few deluded individuals furnished the courtiers and bishops, now returned into power, the pretext they wanted, to gratify their thirst of vengeance, and let their former oppressors, with other dissenters, feel in their turn, the rigours of persecution, and to evade the force of the probable charge of violating the King's declaration of indulgence to tender consciences, but a few months old; this insurrection was made a handle of, to throw a suspicion of disloyalty upon all sectaries; so called; and this suspicion was by every effort kept alive by the ruling powers and their abettors during most part of this reign; wherein justice, mercy,
 and

and truth were frequently violated, to promote the sinister purposes of prejudiced or ill-designing men. The colour, therefore, under which they palliated their sudden and open violation of the royal promise, was, as not prosecuting nonconformists for their religious scruples, but as persons dangerous to the state; but the cover was too flimsy not to be seen through, they only waited for the firmer establishment of themselves till they threw off the mask.

^b During the time of the tumult, on the second of the 11^{mo} an order of council was issued against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times: and on the 10th of the same month a proclamation was published, whereby the King forbade the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy men to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except in some parochial church or chapel, or in private houses by persons therein inhabiting. All meetings in any other places were declared to be unlawful and riotous. And all mayors, and other peace officers were commanded to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions.

Proclamation
issued
against
Anabaptists,
Quakers
and Fifth-
monarchy
men.

This proclamation appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy than sound judgment or equity: while it reaches all the different sects of dissenters, all who do not assemble for worship in some parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it distinguishes only those looked upon as the most insignificant, and least formidable for their numbers or abilities. The Presbyterians are passed over in silence, because they could not, as yet, with any colour of decency, be pointed out specifically as foes to that government which, through
their

Reflection.

CHAP. II. their resentment to the independents, and the cajolements of the royalists, they had but just before been conducive to establishing: The independents also are unnoticed, probably for fear, till they were humbled into a greater degree of imbecility of awakening the exertion of that vigour, and those abilities, the effects whereof were yet sufficiently recent in the memory of the present administration, to produce a cautiousness in rousing them into action again. The Anabaptists and Quakers, as new or weaker sects, are treated with less ceremony, and without any occasion administered by them, are ranked in one class with these wild disturbers of the publick peace, wherein Justice, the characteristic virtue of good government, was designedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confused mass. We have too many instances in history to excite a persuasion that men in power esteem the rules of morality, and regard to a good conscience, obligatory only upon the inferior classes of mankind; but to be no tie upon them, when they stand in the way of gratifying the impulse of their ambition, revenge, or political projects. Through the various revolutions marked in the course of this history, how few of the rulers appear to have borne the sword uniformly, "for a terror to evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well."

The people called Quakers, exposed to great persecution.

In consequence of this proclamation*, the Quakers were again exposed to a fresh and severe persecution,

* "The most irreligious and profane sort of people were animated, and took occasion against our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavour to suppress them, being encouraged by the new justices and magistrates then got into commission. The most vile and profane, as drunkards, swear-
ers,

persecution, although by the dying testimony of CHAP. II.
the sufferers at their execution, declared to have
no part in, or knowledge of their plot; abused by
the populace, dragged from their employments;
their houses ransacked, and their meetings broken
up by soldiers; sick men dragged out of their
beds to prison, one of which †, Thomas Patchen,
being in a fever, died there.

1660.

George Fox was still in London, and gives account that all was uproar and tumult: The city and suburbs up in arms; the populace and military exceeding rude and abusive: Henry Fell, going quietly to a friend's house, was knocked down by the soldiers, and had been killed if the Duke of York's passing by had not prevented. George was taken prisoner, but soon after, by the interposition

ers, cursers, and most wicked of all sorts, being lifted up, and exalted in their spirits upon the restoration of the King, and his accession to the throne, then were triumphant and insulting against all religious dissenters, and especially threatening the Quakers and their meetings with ruin, &c. And seeing what a great flood of wickedness and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue despised, we then expected no other than severe and hard treatment from our persecutors, whose hearts were set in them to endeavour our ruin, or to root us out of the land".—George Whitehead's Journal, part ii. p. 242.

† "Among many others Thomas Patchen, a man of a considerable estate, was taken when sick, and hurried away twenty-five miles to prison, where he was, with the rest, put among the felons, who abused him sorely, and would have stripped him of his clothes, to the endangering of his life, had he not consented to let them have 3l. 5s. in money, which the jailer awarded them; notwithstanding which they afterward took from him two coats worth 2l. 10s. The fatigue of his journey, and the cruel usage he met with in the jail, so encreased his distemper, that he died there a few days after his confinement. The felons also rifled the other prisoners, taking from some their money, from others their clothes and necessities."—Besse, v. i. p. 690.

CHAP. II. interposition of his friend esquire Marsh, set at liberty.

1666.

Richard Brown, one of the numerous temporizers of this age, who under the former powers had distinguished himself as a fierce adversary to the royalists, particularly at Abingdon, being mayor of the city this year, to compensate for his former misconduct, turned, with the temper of the times, a no less distinguished persecutor of dissenters; discovering himself to be a forward, intemperate zealot in executing all the rigorous measures of this reign. He pursued the Quakers with peculiar acrimony and violence, and committed them to Newgate in such numbers, that they had not room to sit or lie down, nor scarce to stand one by another. There were at one time in that jail of the mayor's own committing three hundred and forty-six persons, of whom about an hundred were crouded together in one room, and divers fell sick, through the smell and closeness of the place; besides these, were several others whom the officers and soldiers had carried, as above, without any legal or regular warrant for that purpose.

This persecution was not confined to the city, but, with the proclamation, spread with similar violence over all, or most parts of, the nation; from their meetings, from their habitations and employments; out of their beds in the dead of the night, they were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison, till in many places the prisons were crouded with them, almost to the danger of suffocation, by the number stowed together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms. To recount the particular circumstances of their hard and unmerited treatment on this account would swell

swell the work too much ; but those who desire a fuller information than the cases presented in the notes *, are referred to Bessé's collection of the sufferings of this people, where they may fully satisfy themselves of the truth of this representation.

CHAP.
II.

1660.

Persecution

* On the 31st of the 11th month (January) * Roger Mil-^{Berkshire.}ton was called out of his bed by officers with a warrant, and kept, together with John Dudge and William Wyatt, under a guard all night, and conducted next day to Twyford, whence for refusing to take the oath of allegiance tendered by three justices, they were committed to prison ; where the cruel treatment they received strongly marks the virulent temper of the persecutors at this time. They were thrust into a dungeon among felons to the number of twenty-two, a place so close, that the jailer acknowledged he thought it would breed an infection among them : They would not be suffered to walk in the yard for air, nor their friends to visit them, nor bring them food and other necessaries : Their ink, paper and working tools were taken from them ; they were made the subject of the keeper's derision, who bringing some of his companions to see them, scoffingly said, *There was not such another bed in Berkshire.*

Few or no counties escaped this general persecution ; but in consequence of the proclamation the Quakers (so called) were everywhere taken up in crouds, violently haled by soldiers or peace officers before the justices, [which they knew they had a religious scruple against taking] and upon their conscientious refusal, committed them to prison by fifty or sixty at a time. In Bristol near one hundred and ninety were imprisoned : Soldiers kept guard at the several prisons night and day, with orders to admit nobody to them : Their servants were denied access, what they brought was narrowly searched, and themselves rudely treated : In Lancaster were two hundred and seventy prisoners, in Westmoreland one hundred and sixteen, in West Riding of Yorkshire the number committed to prison was no less than two hundred and twenty-nine, for refusing to swear, being taken, many of them, from their religious meetings ; some on the high-ways, others from their houses,

CHAP. Persecution being thus carried on throughout
 II. the nation against a people who had administered

1660.

no

houses and lawful employments, and some out of their beds. One hundred and twenty-six in the North-Riding, in like manner and for the same cause; mostly for refusing to take the oaths, and proportionably in other counties.

Whence it is apparent, that this insurrection was made a handle to effect a preconcerted design, for their fidelity appears not to have been called in question, but most or all to be committed for their scrupling to take an oath. And their treatment in prison was generally as inhuman as their commitment was unjust, as appears by the following copy of a letter from Leicester jail, dated the 20th of the 12th month (February), 1660.

A copy of
 a letter from
 Leicester.

" A copy of a letter from Leicester jail, dated the 20th of
 " the twelfth month, 1660.

" *Friends,*

" It lieth upon us to give an account of our sufferings, we
 " being in number twenty-five, which are imprisoned because
 " we cannot swear, we expecting that more will be brought
 " to prison. We be under the oppression of a cruel jailer,
 " who refuseth to let us have necessary provision brought to
 " us, and one who is a friend, which we have employed for
 " that purpose, when she hath made provision ready for us,
 " and brought it to the door, the jailer hath several times
 " turned it back with cruel threatening words, saying, *He*
 " *would break her neck if he took her coming in at the door.*
 " And many of us, being very poor men in the outward,
 " scarce able to provide for our families when at liberty, and
 " some of us being fifteen or sixteen miles from our outward
 " beings, and so unable to buy ourselves provisions at the
 " jailer's excessive rates. Some of us have been imprisoned
 " five weeks: One, his wife being near the time of her deli-
 " very of a child, his friends desiring but a short time for him
 " to go and speak to his wife, his brother offering to stay in
 " his room the time, was denied: Another was brought to
 " prison from his wife, she being delivered of a child but two
 " days before. And some of our friends, being brought to
 " prison, had their coats taken off their backs by the soldiers,
 " and not restored again: Another friend's wife being very
 " weak,

no just occasion, who were not in any degree chargeable with the insurrection or sedition; but artfully

CHAP.
II.

1660.

“ weak, and not likely to continue long, she desiring much to see her husband, who desired, upon security, so much liberty of the jailer to go and see her, but he denied it; it lying much upon the friend to go and see his wife in that condition, he acquainted one of the commissioners with it, who sent his warrant to the jailer to set the friend at liberty, and that should be his discharge; but the jailer kept the warrant, and refused to let him go, except he would pay him a mark fees. We are forced to hire rooms at excessive rates, by reason that we cannot have a free prison to hold us, so as that we might lie down, there being so many debtors and felons in it. Three of the friends imprisoned are *Northamptonshire* men: One, whose name is *William Vincent*, who had been imprisoned at *Northampton* near fourteen months, it being but two weeks after he was put out, but he was brought to prison here, he being a man in much bodily weakness, with many running sores upon him, and by outward appearance is not likely to continue long; his wife also being in the town, and bringing him some warm food, which she had provided for him, was turned back, and not suffered to bring it to him. Likewise the jailer denies to let him have a candle at his own charge, whereby he might dress his sores, it being a dark place, where he is locked up by day-light; likewise not suffering a few boards, which were their own, to hold the straw up, but did take them from them.

“ Subscribed by

Edward Muggleston
John Evatt
John Elliott
Richard Read
George Power
Thomas Orton
William Smith
Thomas Marshall
Robert Pimm
Robert Bakewell
William Perkins
Peter Hinks
Samuel Ward

Robert Cliffe
John Swann
William Vincent
William Line
George Almon
Robert Day
Richard Farmer
Roger Sturgis
Thomas Falkner
William Gregory
William Horton
William Tompson.”

Many

CHAP. artfully brought under suspicion to palliate the
 II. faithless measures and rigorous designs which
 1660. were previously determined upon; the Quakers,
 as well as other dissenters, thought it necessary
 to clear themselves of these groundless surmises,
 by a publick disavowal of all plots and insurrec-
 tions whatever, in order to prepare the way for
 application for redress of the various injuries they
 were unjustly exposed to in their persons, repu-
 tations and properties. George Fox and Richard
 Hubberthorn drew up a declaration of their ab-
 horrence of plots and warring, in order to pre-
 sent it to the King and Council, but when finish-
 ed and sent to the press, it was there seized,
 which

Many people were now likewise in Ilchester jail; the cause
 and manner of whose commitment is expressed in the follow-
 ing letter, written by one of them, viz.

A letter
 from one of
 the prison-
 ers at Il-
 chester.

"*Dear Friend,*

"By reason of some rash, unadvised enterprize of the Mo-
 narchy-men in London, which we hear of late hath hap-
 pened, which we are altogether unacquainted with, and
 clear in our consciences and practices toward God and
 men, from the least knowledge of, or hand in, yet we are
 made as equally guilty with transgressors, amongst whom
 we are numbered and confined in prison, where we pati-
 ently wait until the Lord clear our innocency, and plead
 our cause. We are in number already one hundred and
 forty, and expect more to be daily added, and the cry of
 the innocent babes, who are left as it were fatherless, and
 of the mournful women, that are deprived of the help of their
 husbands, by such a sudden surprisal, cannot but reach into
 the most secret corner of the King's palace, and pierce the
 hardest heart that hath any affection to nature: The Lord
 plead our cause, and clear our innocency, and reward them
 according to their works, that have brought this distress
 upon the nation. I hope the King knows, or will know,
 that the persecuted people called Quakers, had no hand in
 the trespass which occasioned such a proclamation, whereby

"our

which looks like an arbitrary depriving them of the opportunity of vindicating themselves. Upon which they quickly drew up another, got it printed, sent some copies to the King and Council, and published the rest in their justification to the nation at large.

C H A P.

II.

1660.

Abstract of a declaration from the people called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, fighters, &c. presented to the king the 21st of 11th month, 1660.

“ Our principle is, and our practice hath always been, to seek peace and to follow after righteousness, and the knowledge of God ; seeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We

F f 2 “ know

“ our meetings are all broken up, and in many places both men
 “ and women much abused, beaten, blooded, dragged out of
 “ their houses, and some out of their beds, and others from
 “ their ordinary employments, and haled before magistrates,
 “ and so sent to prison, for not going to parish churches, as
 “ they are called ; and the oath tendered to them, and for refusing to swear, committed ; and on this account there are
 “ sent to the jail, some days thirty, some more, and some
 “ less, and daily we are in expectation to have friends brought
 “ so long as there can be one found to go under the denomination of a Quaker, unless there be a stop put to that spirit,
 “ that takes this opportunity to strike at every appearance of
 “ truth. The very worst of men in the prison, that suffer for
 “ felony and murder, rejoicing to see us so persecuted, and
 “ supposing themselves in better condition than men of tender
 “ consciences ; and the rude, wild and ranting people in the
 “ country, take occasion to rejoice that they have now the
 “ countenance and authority to apprehend, persecute and imprison the Quakers, and some not satisfied that we are confined
 “ in prison, for blood is thirsted after, without which some may
 “ hardly escape out of this place, except the Lord restrain
 “ the wrath of man.—

“ *Ilchester, the 22d of the*
 “ *eleventh month, 1660.*”

CHAP.
II.

1660.

“ know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, *Jam. iv. 1, 2, 3*, out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and therefore the ground and cause being taken away the effect ceaseth. And all bloody principles and practices we (as to our own particular) do utterly deny; with all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever: And this is our testimony to the whole world.

“ And whereas it is objected:

“ Although you now say, *That you cannot fight, nor take up arms at all; yet if the spirit do move you, then you will change your principle, and then you will sell your coat and buy a sword, and fight for the kingdom of Christ.*

“ *Ans. We say Christ's command to Peter, Put up thy sword, for he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword,* was posterior to that, when for the fulfilling of the law, he said, *He that had no sword might sell his coat and buy one.* And further, the Spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil, and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

“ First, Because the kingdom of Christ, God will exalt, according to his promise, and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness; *Not by might nor by power (of outward sword) but by my spirit, saith the Lord, Zech. iv. 6.* So those

“ those that use any weapon to fight for Christ, CHAP.
 “ or for the establishing of his kingdom or go- II.
 “ vernment, both the spirit, principle and prac-
 “ tice in that, we deny. 1660.

“ Secondly, We do earnestly desire and wait,
 “ that (by the word of God’s power, and its
 “ effectual operation in the hearts of men) the
 “ kingdoms of this world may become the king-
 “ doms of the Lord, and of his Christ, that he
 “ might rule and reign in men by his Spirit and
 “ Truth; that thereby all people out of all dif-
 “ ferent judgments and professions, might be
 “ brought into love and unity with God, and
 “ one with another; and that they might all
 “ come to witness the prophet’s words, who said,
 “ *Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,*
 “ *neither shall they learn war any more.* Isa. ii.

4. Micah iv. 3.

“ And whereas all manner of evil hath
 “ been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak
 “ forth the plain truth of our hearts, to take
 “ away the occasion of that offence; that so
 “ we being innocent, may not suffer for other
 “ men’s offences, nor be made a prey upon by
 “ the wills of men for that of which we were
 “ never guilty; but in the uprightness of our
 “ hearts we may, under the power ordained of
 “ God for the punishment of evil-doers, and for
 “ the praise of them that do well, live a peaceable
 “ and godly life, in all godliness and honesty.
 “ For although we have always suffered, and do
 “ now more abundantly suffer, yet we know
 “ that it is for righteousness sake: *For our re-*
 “ *joicing is this, the testimony of our consciences,*
 “ *that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with*
 “ *fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have*
 “ *had our conversation in the world.* 2 Cor. i.

CHAP. " 12.

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1660.

" 12. which for us is a witness, for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can say to all the world, we have wronged no man's person or possessions; we have used no force nor violence against any man; we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition; when we have been wronged, we have not sought to revenge ourselves; we have not made resistance against authority; but wherein we could not obey for conscience-sake, we have suffered even the most of any people in the nation.

" Our weapons are spiritual, and not carnal, yet *Mighty through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and Satan*, who is author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots; and our swords are broken into plow-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in *Micah iv.* Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us amongst the transgressors and plotters: the Lord knows our innocency herein, and will plead our cause with all men and people upon earth, at the day of their judgment, when all men shall have a reward according to their works.

" This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to satisfy the King and his council, and all those that have any jealousy concerning us; that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocency cleared."

Every measure seems to have been pursued to fill the nation with alarm, and consequently the
ill-

ill-judging multitude with rage against dissenters, the objects pointed out as dangerous to the state; the press was narrowly watched*; orders were given to stop and search all letters in the post-office; soldiers let loose to drag to prison whom they pleased, so that it was dangerous for them to walk the streets; they were insulted and abused by the mobs; disturbed in their religious exercises; taken from their trades and families, and thereby exposed to great hardships, loss and damage, and their families, many of them, to want.

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1660.

From the impulse of affection and sympathy, at that time so remarkable amongst this people, in addition to the endeavours used for their relief by the aforesaid declaration, Margaret Fell several times waited personally upon the King to solicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her first admission she signified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion

Margt. Fell
solicits the
King on be-
half of the
number of
friends im-
prisoned.

" of

* Of this we have a remarkable instance in Thomas Ellwood's narrative of his own life. Meeting with Thomas Loe at I. Penington's, he proposed to him to appoint a meeting in the town where he dwelt. To this proposal Thomas Loe signified, "He was not at his own disposal, but desired Thomas Ellwood, if the thing lay with weight on his mind, and he could get a convenient place for a meeting, to advise him thereof by letter to Oxford; and then he might let him know how his freedom stood." Thomas Ellwood accordingly having procured a suitable place, writ account thereof to Thomas Loe, his letter was intercepted, and brought to Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of the county, who ordered the two deputy lieutenants nearest him to send a party of soldiers to fetch him in and examine him thereupon. Upon examination, their endeavours to wrest his letter to a criminal design, affording no sufficient ground of punishment, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and on his refusal committed him prisoner to Oxford.

CHAP. II. of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings; for no other purpose but worshipping God, in that way, they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered." She waited upon him again, to inform him how severely her friends, who were not in the least concerned in insurrection or riot, were treated; several thousands of them through the nation being cast into prison illegally, in consequence of other men's crimes. The King and council wondered how they gained the intelligence, after the strict orders they had issued to intercept all letters, so that none might pass unsearched. However, in consequence of her application, and the declaration above-mentioned, the King sent out a proclamation, *forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable*. Afterward, when some of the unhappy insurgents were brought to suffer, they were so just to this injured people, as by their dying testimony to clear them of all guilt, publicly declaring "they had no hand in, or knowledge of their plot."

Proclamation issued for their discharge.

This with other evidences, and their continued intercessions, prevailed upon the King to issue out a declaration, ordering *the Quakers to be set at liberty without paying fees*.

But yet that spirit of riot and furious hatred, which had been, it is feared, designedly stirred up in the populace towards this people, continued to be very vexatious to them, especially in their religious assemblies; for besides the interruption they suffered from the officers and soldiers, they were exposed to the abuse and disturbance

turbance of many rude people, who made it their business to come to their meetings on purpose to molest and insult them; and although for the present, the fierce current of persecution was in some measure stopped by the King's proclamation, and the prisoners confined in consequence of the insurrection of the Millenarians set at liberty; although cruelty was not reckoned amongst the King's vices, yet being surrounded by counsellors, churchmen and courtiers, averse to toleration, he too easily gave into their views; and in violation of his solemn promise in his declaration from Breda, suffered great numbers of his subjects to be continually harassed with spoil of their property, even to reducing them from opulent or easy circumstances to indigence, and the repeated deprivation of their personal liberty, and all the comforts of life.

After the Quakers were fully cleared of the plot of the Fifth-monarchy men, and all pretences of punishing them on that account were removed, it was not long till they were again grievously persecuted by the revival of old laws made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, chiefly against popish recusants, but now perverted to the punishment of this inoffensive body of people, who had not in any thing disturbed the peace of the kingdom, while the Papists themselves were not only suffered to remain unmolested, but through covert favour of the court, are generally reported to have promoted, by all their interest, which was not inconsiderable, the severe measures pursued against other dissenters in this reign. The principal laws which

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II.

1660.

Afterwards
persecuted
on obsolete
laws against
popish recusants.

CHAP. II. which were thus revived, and distorted to the unreasonable and unjust punishment of this society at this period, and during this reign, rigorous in themselves, and made more so by the extreme severity exercised in the execution of them, were these which follow.

1660.

First, The act passed in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. against the subtraction of tithes [as of divine right due to God and holy church] whereby justices of peace were obliged to commit the contumacious defendant to prison, till he should find sufficient surety to give due obedience to the process, decrees or sentence of the ecclesiastical court.

Although this act be a general one, pointed at no particular society, and through the attachment of the clerical order to their secular interests and power, through all revolutions of government prevented from growing obsolete: yet how grievously great numbers of this society have suffered thereby, hath been shewn in numerous instances, and may in more hereafter.

For believing this law, in its ground and tendency to be in direct contradiction to a superior law, the command of Christ Jesus himself, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" that the practice of the Apostles and the primitive church for three successive centuries was a proof that tithes were no gospel maintenance, but abolished with the Jewish law to which they belonged; that in the dark ages of priestly dominion, laick superstition and implicit faith, they were gradually introduced, and established in the manner they are now applied, by the avarice, fraud and influence of selfish and popish ecclesiasticks; on these considerations, as christians, as protestants and reformers, they believed themselves under an obligation of conscience neither to pay them, nor actively comply with the law; but to bear open testimony against the imposition

position as antichristian; but the priests having by this law the power to imprison them, and detain them in prison 'till the pretended debt, and exorbitant cost of the ecclesiastical courts were fully paid and satisfied; and they being restrained from paying such demands in violation of their consciences and peace of mind, points more tender with them than the security of their property, liberty or natural lives; many of them were imprisoned several years, and many laid down their lives in prison, in support of this their christian testimony.

CHAP.
II.
1660.

Second, The laws made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for uniformity of common prayer and publick worship, viz.

First, that enacting a forfeiture of one shilling to the use of the poor, to be levied off every person who did not resort to their parish church, or some other, every Sunday or Holyday.

The second establishing a forfeiture of twenty pounds a month for the like default *.

A Third

* Neale remarks that upon the conventicle act being passed in 1664, "At every quarter sessions several were fined for not coming to church; some excommunicated, and some fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world." Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of John Shipman and Thomas Virtue, both of the county of Suffolk, (who were prosecuted on this act of Elizabeth) as presented to the King and council on the 5th of November 1663.

For the King and Council.

A short relation of the cruel usage of two of the King's peaceable subjects, JOHN SHIPMAN, of *Creetingham* in the county of *Suffolk*, and THOMAS VIRTUE of *Clopton* in the same county, &c.

The said persons being informed against by the sheriff's bailiffs, and by the bailiffs of the liberty where the said persons

* History of the Puritans.

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A Third enabling the Queen to seize all the goods, and two-thirds of the lands of every such offender, for the sum then due for 20l. a month; and yearly after that to do the same, for so long time as they shall forbear to come to church.

By the first of these acts some few were prosecuted by magistrates of moderation and lenity to obviate greater severities, and by others to expedite severer punishment; but many more upon the latter; and though the King, at the intercession of George Whitehead, Gilbert Laty and others, ordered stay of process in divers counties; yet afterwards the prosecutions were continued until after his death, both to imprisonment and seizing of goods.

Fourth,

sons dwelt, upon a statute made against popish recusants; and for their not being at the publick worship for eleven months past, at a quarter sessions holden at Woodbridge in the said county, *John Sicklemore* judge, judgment was passed against them by the justices there, for each of them to pay 20l. a month for eleven months, eleven score pounds a piece; and since, the bailiffs aforesaid have taken away goods worth 68l. 15s. from *John Shipman*, and 35l. worth from *Thomas Virtue*, and do threaten to take more from them, until they be satisfied for the fines of twice eleven score pounds, although the whole estate of the said *Thomas Virtue* is not judged to be worth half so much, so that if the King shew not some kindness to these poor men, the said *Thomas Virtue*, his wife and six children, are like to be left destitute: and farther, the said persons were for the same cause both kept in prison; the one of them a year and a half, the other a year and a quarter before their goods and cattle were taken away.

Therefore our request to the King is, that he would relieve the said sufferers; and that they may not thus deeply suffer for conscience sake, who wish well to King and government.

Fourth, And as if these laws were not severe C H A P.
II.
1660.
enough, in the 35th year of the said reign, an act was made to oblige offenders in the like case to abjure the realm on pain of death.

This law, made it may be supposed, chiefly against papists, was endeavoured in some instances to be enforced against the Quakers; but as it was well known they could not swear at all, and therefore that they would not abjure the realm; and of consequence prosecutions by this law must terminate in their death, which might occasion an alarm in the nation, and a detestation of such severity, prosecutions under this law were discouraged, even by judges otherwise severe enough against the Quakers: yet we shall find, on more occasions than the one following, endeavours were used by some inveterate spirits to bring them under the lash of this law.

William Alexander of Needham in Suffolk, being with several others indicted upon this act, was called upon to plead, guilty or not guilty; but not being hasty to answer, the judge said, why don't you plead? Alexander said, what wouldst thou advise us to plead? If you ask my advice, said the judge, you shall have it, and I'll advise you to plead not guilty. The prisoners pleading accordingly, the judge turning to the prosecutors, informed them, that now they must prove these men, neither to have been at their own parish church, nor any other church or chapel, else they were not within this act, which is a sanguinary law. Alexander and the rest were accordingly discharged.

Fifth, The act made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign for administering the oath of supremacy, and that of the third of James (after the discovery of the gun-powder plot) enjoining the taking the oath of allegiance, afterwards distinguished by the name of the *Test*.

Now

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Now albeit this last was enacted particularly as a security against the dangerous machinations of the papists, yet in this reign these met with shelter and protection, and the edge of this law was turned against the Quakers very deceitfully and unjustly; for as it was now generally known, that they had a conscientious scruple against taking any oath, apprehending the precept of Christ, *swear not at all*, a positive obligatory command, which they ought not in any case to transgress, and that no law or power upon earth could justify them in the breach of a divine law: although they were willing to acknowledge their allegiance by any plain declaration, short of an oath; yet on account of this conscientious scruple, a preconcerted and unreasonable advantage was taken of this act. But through divine support in all their afflictions, they were actuated by an invincible constancy, and preserved steadfast in their obedience and their faith, through bonds, premunires, banishments, and even death itself.

In the late general imprisonment in pursuance of the proclamation published on the rising of the fifth monarchy men, when the innocence of this society appeared so clearly, that there remained no shadow of reason to detain them on that account, it was the usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that by their refusal they might get a more plausible pretext to commit and detain them in prison. On this account many hundreds were imprisoned, from the time of the insurrection till they were liberated by the king's declaration aforementioned; but it was not on this occasion only, they suffered by this act, but it continued, when other means failed
to

to supply the malevolence of their adversaries C H A P. II.
 a handle to ensnare and be vexatious to them, through the greatest part of this reign, as may more fully appear in the process of this work: 1660.
 But to recite all the hardships and sufferings they were exposed to on this single scruple were to write a large volume, and therefore I can only cursorily take notice of the most remarkable cases as they arise: for the present, as it may be apprehended, that in troublesome times it is but reasonable for the government to require this security from the subject, the following case will shew that they were not backward to demonstrate their allegiance, as far as they could go, without disobeying the command of Christ, as they understood it, which joined to their peaceable and unresisting demeanour, chargeable with no disaffection, might safely have been accepted, were the rulers of that time as indulgent to tenderness of conscience, as they were bent upon singling out the members of this society to tender the oath to, for the pure purpose of involving them in distress by subjecting them to the penalties enacted by this law.

At the assizes of Bedford on the 13th of the month called March, 1660-1, * two and fifty persons, then in prison for refusing the oath of allegiance, were brought before judge Windham, who ordered the statutes of 35 Elizabeth and 7 James, to be read; telling the prisoners, that many of them being but young, might probably be ignorant of the penalties they were liable to for refusing the oath. One of them, in the name of the rest, answered, *That the penalties had been fully considered by them: That they thought it* 1661.
their

* Bessé, vol. i. p. 4, 5.

CHAP. II. *their duty actively to obey the laws of the land, when consistent with the law of God, and when otherwise patiently to submit. That the laws read appeared to them contrary to the precept of Christ, Matth. v. which they durst not break. They presented at the same time to the Judge, a paper in writing as follows, viz.*

1661.

“ Though it be generally known through
 “ *Christendom* so called, that the people called
 “ *Quakers* cannot swear at all, because it is ac-
 “ cording to the command of Christ, our law-
 “ giver, Judge and Saviour, yet for taking
 “ away all jealousies and fears out of the mind
 “ of the king, his council, and other his offi-
 “ cers and subjects in this realm, and other do-
 “ minions belonging thereunto, that so under
 “ him we may live in a godly, holy, honest,
 “ peaceable and quiet life, to serve God and
 “ the creation in our generation, we give forth
 “ these lines, concerning the oath of allegiance
 “ (obligatory to us) to the king, and all the
 “ nation, whom it may concern, that we may
 “ not be made transgressors, without a cause,
 “ and exposed to suffer for keeping our con-
 “ sciences clear before the Lord.

“ First of all we do believe and declare, that
 “ the immediate hand of the Lord hath brought
 “ in *Charles Stuart*, now proclaimed king of
 “ *England, Scotland, &c.* according to the laws
 “ and statutes of the nation; and that the
 “ Pope, neither of himself, nor by any autho-
 “ rity of the church or see of *Rome*, or by any
 “ other means with others, hath any power to
 “ depose the king, or to dispossess him of any
 “ of his dominions, or to authorize any fo-
 “ reign prince to invade or annoy him, neither
 “ to discharge any of his subjects from their
 “ obedience

" obedience to him, or to give license or leave
 " to any to take up arms, or to offer any vio-
 " lence or hurt to the person of the king, state
 " or government, or to any of his subjects
 " within his dominions: And likewise we de-
 " clare, and shall keep our words, notwithstand-
 " ing any declaration or sentence of excommu-
 " nication or deprivation, made or granted, or
 " to be made or granted by the pope or his
 " successors, or by any authority derived, or
 " pretended to be derived from him, against
 " the king, his lawful heirs and successors, or
 " by any absolution of the said subjects to the
 " king: That we will not conspire, neither at-
 " tempt any conspiracy against his person, nor
 " plot nor contrive any thing against him,
 " nor any of his subjects, neither would we have
 " any others to do it, notwithstanding any sen-
 " tence or declaration from the Pope; and far-
 " ther we do abhor and detest that position, as
 " impious and heretical, and a damnable doc-
 " trine, that princes which be excommunicated
 " by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered
 " by their subjects, or otherwise. And further
 " we do believe in our hearts, that neither the
 " Pope nor any other whatsoever, have power to
 " absolve us of this our acknowledgement and
 " testimony, or any part thereof, and do re-
 " nounce all pardons and dispensations to the
 " contrary. And these things we do plainly
 " and sincerely acknowledge and confess, ac-
 " cording to the plain common sense and under-
 " standing of the words herein expressed, with-
 " out any equivocation, mental reservation, or
 " secret evasion whatsoever, and these things
 " shall attest by words, and shall, if thereunto
 " lawfully required, set our hands.

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II.

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II.

1661.

“ So let us not be made a prey upon, seeing what we do is in a good conscience to God, and in it these things we write, and shall keep in truth and righteousness, which may satisfy you and all reasonable men.”

On the next day the oath was tendered to six of the prisoners, who insisted on the illegality of their commitment, having been taken by violence out of their beds, though innocent of the breach of any law. The judge answered, *if they had suffered any wrong, they might take their remedy at law, but being now before him, he required them to take the oath, adding, that an oath was a part of God's worship, and that the scriptures had always been interpreted that men might swear.*

The prisoners speaking in their own defence were interrupted and hurried away. The grand jury found the bills of indictment, and returning into the court one of them was read to the prisoners, who were told, *the rest were like it*: And they not forward to plead, were sent back to prison.

1661.

Parliament
dissolved.

* The convention parliament, after having fixed the king on the throne, and been pretty liberal in their grants, were dissolved, probably because the number of Presbyterians therein were expected to be a bar in the way of executing the projected measures: And writs were issued for a new parliament to meet on the 8th of the month called May: The tide of popular favour, by the artful rumour of fictitious plots and conspiracies, carried on by the non-conformists, had

* had been turned against them, and ran violently on the side of the hierarchy and prerogative; this temper in the people, under the influence of the court, prevailed in carrying the elections in favour of a great majority of the royalists and zealous churchmen, the number of Presbyterians returned, being too inconsiderable to oppose or retard their measures, monarchy and episcopacy were restored to their former splendour and power, which church (so called) and state jointly exercised with that avengement, and want of moderation and justice, which are generally the concomitants of a violent party spirit.

CHAP.

II.

1661.

New Parliament inimical to non-conformists.

^d At the opening of this parliament, the king, in his speech, declared, "That he valued himself upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects." At the same time that the Chancellor [Clarendon] by his succeeding comment, in a virulent speech against seditious (which meant no more than dissenting) preachers, was paving the way, by inflaming the parliament, to an open violation of his solemn promise of liberty to tender consciences. Oliver Cromwell hath been grievously censured by the reigning party of this time, on account of his double dealing; but I recollect no instance of his management, of a more bare-faced duplicity than this, with this difference, that much of his artifice was exerted in self-defence, against those, he knew were plotting against him, to wrest

G g 2

his

* The denomination of Puritans was now changed into that of non-conformists, as a term that would comprehend every class of dissenters from the established religion.

^d Neale.

CHAP. his power out of his hands; whereas in the
 1661. projects carrying on at this time, the plainest
 rules of morality were broken through without
 any necessity, by the present rulers, for the mere
 purpose of exerting power over antagonists, who
 had, as themselves now thought, with imprudent
 precipitation, been principally instrumental to
 put the power into their hands, to gratify a
 vindictive spirit, and display a wanton triumph
 in their fall, by comprehending them and other
 dissenters, even those, who having been always of
 inoffensive and pacifick principles and demeanour,
 whom they feared not, and knew they
 had no reason to fear, under one common description
 of non-conformists, and then pointing out these
 non-conformists as objects of suspicion, detestation
 and abuse. * It is alledged the king did not
 voluntarily concur with these violent measures;
 but that the zeal of Clarendon and the church party
 among the commons, seconded by the intrigues of
 the catholicks * extorted his consent. But by
 whomsoever these arbitrary measures were originally
 concerted, Clarendon, or the bishops; papists, or
 protestants; the breach of faith, in the manifest
 violation of the royal promise, was too flagrant
 for palliatives to excuse or vindicate; so that
 even the writers on the side of the prerogative
 and episcopacy

* Hume.

* The Catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court. These religionists dreaded an entire union among the protestants. Were they the sole non-conformists in the nation, the severe execution of the penal laws upon their sect, seemed an insupportable consequence; and they used all their influence against the Presbyterians. The Earl of Bristol who had changed his religion in his exile, was regarded as the head of this party. Hume.

episcopacy are obliged to acknowledge them to be an evasion, and breach of the king's declaration from Breda. CHAP.
II.

1661.

Rumours of plots to make way for persecuting laws.

In order to promote their designs, to animate the people and parliament against these devoted non-conformists, the ministry filled the city with rumours of plots and conspiracies against the king and government, contriving by them. Clarendon in a conference between the two houses, positively asserted that a conspiracy had been formed to interrupt the peace of the nation, and though it had been disconcerted in the city, it was still carrying on in the counties. Writers generally agree that there was little or no foundation for these reports; but that they were the mere invention of the reporters, to facilitate the passing of the severe laws that were coming upon the carpet.

Corporation act, and act for uniformity.

After this prelude, the parliament proceeded to pass that called the corporation-act, whereby all non-conformists were excluded from offices of trust and magistracies; and some time after the act of uniformity, which deprived all the Presbyterian and other non-conforming ministers of their benefices, and re-instated the episcopalians in the full possession of the power, and the emoluments of the priesthood. These acts did not in themselves materially affect the Quakers, who aspired to no places of honour or profit, who testified against preaching for hire, and sought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; yet the corporation act in its consequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with persecuting magistrates.

And

CHAP.

II

1661.

Act against
the people
called Qua-
kers, for
not taking
oaths, &c.

And it was not long until they were singled out, as victims to fresh penal laws in addition to the old ones revived against them. This parliament being most of them inclined to persecution, and devotedly resigned to the measures and influence of the ministry and episcopacy, who seemed determined to leave no class of non-conformists unmolested, brought in a bill directly levelled at this body, enacting new penalties for refusing to take oaths, and also to suppress their religious meetings.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

Continuation of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers in America.—Sufferings of William Leddra.—He is brought to his trial.—Appeals to England.—His Appeal over-ruled.—Condemned to death.—The Manner of his Execution.—A Letter relating to his Death.—Edward Wharton's Examination.—Sentence of Banishment.—His Address to the People.—Trial of Wenlock Christison.—The Court divided, yet the Governor passes sentence of death upon him.—An Order for releasing the Quakers out of Prison.—Edward Burrough solicits the King to put a stop to the Persecution in New-England.—The King in compliance with his Solicitation orders a Mandamus to stop it, and deputes Samuel Shattock to carry it over.—The Mandamus delivered, and Persecution in part stopped.—Second Order for the discharge of Prisoners.

AS it was about this time that the people called Quakers in England received intelligence of the severities against their friends in New-England, having been carried so far, that the government had not only made a law to banish them on pain of death; but had actually put some of them to death upon that sanguinary and unauthorized law, as before related; Edward Burrough waited upon the king, to solicit the interposition of his authority to put a stop

C H A P.
III.

1661.

Account
received in
England of
the execution
of the
Quakers, so
called, in
New-Eng-
land.

CHAP. stop to the further effusion of innocent blood,
 III. and was successful in his application. This
 1661. seems therefore a proper place to resume our
 narrative of the further sufferings under the
 independent government there, which was even
 surpassing in virulence and cruelty, all the ty-
 rannical proceedings on this side, towards this
 persecuted people; while their brethren here
 were in some measure their companions in
 affliction.

Sufferings
 of William
 Leddra.

William Leddra, of Barbadoes, was the fourth
 and last, who sealed his testimony with his blood
 under their hands. After much hardship, by
 imprisonment and many cruel stripes, he had
 been banished from Boston on pain of death. Re-
 turning soon after to visit his friends in prison
 there, he was apprehended, and kept night and
 day in an open jail, chained to a log of wood,
 during an extreme cold winter, exceeding in in-
 clemency our severest seasons in England. This
 poor man seems to have been persecuted with
 peculiar inveteracy of malice. In his former
 imprisonment, he was kept in a prison so close,
 without sustenance, that it bore the appearance
 of a design to suffocate or famish him, as the
 latter did of starving him through the incle-
 mency of the weather: but surviving all these
 hardships, he was brought before the court of
 assistants the 9th of the first month of this year
 with his chain and log at his heels: being set
 to the bar he was told, that *having returned
 from banishment, he had incurred the penalty of
 death by the law.* Upon which he asked, *why
 what evil have I done?* To this the court answer-
 ed, *he had owned those that were put to death,
 had refused to put off his hat in court, and said*

He is
 brought to
 his trial.

THEE and THOU. To which William aptly CHAP. III.
 replied, *then you put me to death for speaking* 1661.
English, and for not putting off my clothes. Major
 general Dennison absurdly remarked, *a man*
might speak treason in English. William asked,
If it was treason to say THEE and THOU to a single
person? Next Simon Broadstreet, a violent per-
 secutor, asked him, *if he would go to England?*
 To whom William replied, *I have no business*
there. Then said Broadstreet, *you shall go that*
way, pointing to the gallows. The prisoner
 then appealed to England in the following terms,
Will you put me to death for breathing the air in He appeals
your jurisdiction? What have you against me? to England.
I appeal to the laws of England for my trial, if by
them I am found guilty, I refuse not to die. The His appeal
 court, as usual, over-ruled his appeal, and at- over-ruled.
 tempted to persuade him to a recantation, and a
 conformity to the religion prescribed by their
 laws. But the concern of his mind being to
 testify against that religion, which without justice,
 mercy or proper authority (for they were not
 authorized by charter to make any laws incon-
 sistent with those of England, and for their trans-
 gression of their power, lost their charter some
 time after) could produce laws to punish other
 men with rancour, and put them to death for
 theirs, he consistently and boldly replied, *What!*
join with such murderers as you are; then let every
man that meets me say, lo! this is the man that
hath forsaken the God of his salvation.

The court then passed sentence of death upon Sentenced
 him, and appointed the 14th of the same month to death.
 for his execution.

That the spirit in which he died, was very
 different from the representation of C. Mather,
 before

CHAP. before recited, the following extract from a letter
 III. written the day before his death is a convincing
 1661. proof.

To the SOCIETY of the *little flock* of CHRIST,
 grace and peace be multiplied.

“ Most dear and inwardly beloved friends,
 “ The sweet influences of the morning star,
 “ like a flood distilling into my innocent habi-
 “ tation, hath so filled me with the joy of the
 “ Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit
 “ is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay;
 “ but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of
 “ eternity, from whence it had its being.
 “ What can the wrath and spirit of man that
 “ lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and
 “ strength of the king of the locusts, which
 “ came out of the pit, do to one, that is ga-
 “ thered under the healing wings of the prince
 “ of peace? under whose armour of light they
 “ shall be able to stand in the day of trial, hav-
 “ ing on the breast-plate of righteousness, and
 “ the sword of the spirit, which is their weapon
 “ of war against spiritual wickedness, and the
 “ rulers of the darkness of this world, within
 “ and without.—I have stood still in that watch,
 “ which the master, without whom I could do
 “ nothing, did at his coming reward with the
 “ fulness of his love, wherein my heart did re-
 “ joice, that I might in the love and life of God
 “ speak a few words to you, which may be a
 “ favour of life to your life, and a testimony in
 “ you of my innocent death, &c.

WM. LEDDRA.”

The

^a The next day after the writing of this letter, the unrighteous sentence pronounced against him was put in execution in the following manner. First a morning lecture was appointed, in which the priest animated the magistrates to the execution of the intended tragedy. Although I pay a real regard to a sincere religious disposition under every profession, yet I feel something exceeding disgusting, and even shocking, at cloaking cruelty and injustice under the mask of sanctity, and bringing in a shew of religion in aid of a conduct which violates the plainest laws of humanity and morality. The people called Quakers were reputed and represented by these persecutors, as being under strong delusions; but what delusion could be more absurd or more mischievous, than to think we serve God, by injuring, persecuting and slaying our fellow-creatures.

C H A P.

III.

1661.

The manner of his execution.

Their pretended worship being over, the governor with a guard of soldiers came to the prison, the prisoner's irons were knocked off, and after taking a solemn leave of his fellow-prisoners for the same testimony, being called, he came forth undismayed, and was immediately surrounded by the guard to prevent any of his friends from coming near to speak to or accompany him. Being come to the place of execution, as he was ascending the ladder, he took his leave of his friend Edward Wharton, with this expression, *All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up the cross.* While he stood upon the ladder some person called out, *William, have you any thing to say to the people?* upon which he said, *for bearing my testimony for the Lord against the de-
ceivers and deceived am I brought here to suffer.*

These

CHAP.

III

1661.

These expressions awakened the tender feelings and commiseration of many of the spectators, which being observed by one Allen, a priest then present, in order to prevent the effects of such impressions, he cried out, "People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die, for it is no new thing; and you may read how *the Apostle saith, that some shall be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it;*" though the text saith no such thing; but the blind zeal of the man hurried him into a perversion of the scripture, that he might harden the people's hearts against the innocent; who standing as a man gathered up to God, and in peace with him, as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, meekly said, *I commend my righteous cause to thee, O God!* and as the ladder was turning, he cried out, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Being dead, when the executioner cut him down, four of his friends, Edward Wharton, Robert Harper, John Chamberlain, and Philip Verrin, caught his body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, 'till the executioner had stript his clothes off, who, when he had done it, said he was a comely man, and that Mary Dyer was a comely woman, and the others well ordered men according to their years. ^b His body being stripped, his said friends were suffered to put it into a coffin, and bury it where they thought meet. A piece of humanity owing not to the inclinations of the persecutors, but to the outcry of the people against the barbarity used to the dead bodies of the two men who were put to death before,

There

^b Bessé, vol. ii. p. 219.

There was present at his execution one Thomas Wilkie, a stranger, who was much affected with his case, of which he wrote the following account in a letter to a friend of his at Barbadoes, viz.

CHAP.

III.

1661.

“ Boston, March the 26th, 1661.

“ On the 14th of this instant, here was one William Leddra put to death. The people of the town told me he might go away if he would: but when I made further enquiry, I heard the marshal say, *he was chained in prison, from the time he was condemned to the day of his execution.* I am not of his opinion; but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates at Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered me, that *he was a rogue, a very rogue.* But what is this to the question, I said, *where is your rule?* He said, he had abused authority. Then I went after the man, and asked him, *Whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to under-value authority?* I saw then, when the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and said, *Know that this day I am to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus.* Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, *Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, and yet a friend to both.* And I cried aloud, *for the Lord's sake, take not away the man's life, but remember Gamaliel's counsel to the Jews: If this be of man it will come to nought; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God.* And the captain said, *why had you not come to the prison?* The reason was

“ because

A letter relating to the death of William Leddra.

CHAP. " because I heard the man might go if he would,
 III. " and therefore I called him down from the
 1661. " tree, and said, *come down, William, you may go*
 " *if you will.* Then Capt. Oliver said, *It was*
 " *no such matter,* and asked, *what had I to do*
 " *with it? and bid me be gone.* And I told them
 " I was willing, for I could not endure to see
 " this. And when I was in the town, some did
 " seem to sympathize with me in my grief, but
 " I told them, *that they had no warrant from*
 " *the word of God, nor precedent from our country,*
 " *nor power from his Majesty, to hang the man.*
 To Mr. Geo. Lad, master
 of the America of Dart- your Friend,
 mouth, now at Barba- THOMAS WILKIE.
 does.

Edward
 Wharton's
 examina-
 tion.

At the same court by which William Leddra was condemned to death, Edward Wharton, who had been imprisoned near a year, was brought before their tribunal, where, when he appeared, he very reasonably demanded *the cause wherefore he was forced from his habitation, while he was honestly following his lawful occupation, and here laid up as an evil-doer?* For which they had no better reason to assign than that *his hair was too long, and that he had disobeyed that commandment, which saith, honour thy father and mother;* which they by a violent misconstruction applied to his not taking off his hat to the magistrates, to which he replied, " I love and honour all magistrates and rulers, who are for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well." Then secretary Rawson called out, *Edward Wharton come to the bar.*

Edward

^c *Edward Wharton.* Yea, and to the bench too, CHAP.
 for thou hast no evil to lay to my charge. *Secretary.* Hold up your hand. *Edw. Wharton.* I will not, thou hast no evil to charge me with. *Secretary.* Edward Wharton, hear your sentence of banishment. *Edw. Wharton.* Have a care what you do, for if you murder me, my blood will lie heavy upon you. *Secretary.* Edward Wharton attend to your sentence of banishment : You are upon pain of death to depart this jurisdiction, it being the 11th of this instant March, by the one and twentieth of the same, on the pain of death. *Edw. Wharton.* I am a single man, and I have dealings with some people ; it were good I had time to make clear with all, and then if you have power to murder me, you may.

III.
 1661.

Sentence of
 banishment.

Then the governor and secretary laid their heads together.

Governor. If we should give him a hundred days, it is all one. *Edw. Wharton.* Nay, I shall not go away, therefore be careful what you do.

Then addressing the people assembled in the court, he spoke audibly as followeth, viz.

“ All people, take notice, what horrible, wicked and unjust men these are ; for after they had unrighteously taken me from my house, where, when the constable came in, I was following my honest calling in the fear of the Lord, he forced me out, and led me along the country like some evil-doer, to the governor’s house, where I asked the governor what he had to charge me withal ? who said, *you shall know hereafter.* And now, they have kept me almost a year close prisoner, night and day, they have banished me on pain of

His address
 to the people.

CHAP. of death, and, for ought I know, they will murder me; and yet they have nothing to charge me withal, *but my hat and my hair.*"

III
1661.

Upon this Rawson the secretary, taking the book of records, read to the people, how that contrary to law, Edward Wharton had travelled up and down with W. Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson. To which Edward replied, "What readeſt thou that for? have you not plowed furrows on my back for that already, although you had no law for it?" For he had been cruelly whipped in 1659, and fined 20l. for travelling in company with the ſaid ſufferers.

Edward was then threatened, and commanded to quit the court, which he did; but, as he told them, continued in their jurisdiction, and publicly attended the execution of William Leddra. Which the perſecuting prieſts and magiſtrates now thought beſt to overlook, finding, that the more they condemned, the more the bloody work grew on their hands; and that they had the further mortification to perceive that the paſt executions had expoſed them to ſevere cenſure and infamy, with candid and unprejudiced minds in a general way. Therefore the fierceneſs of their rage being in ſome meaſure damped thereby, they were induced, though reluctantly, from theſe and other conſiderations, to proceed more cautiously in enforcing their ſanguinary law. With the firſt three that ſuffered under it they uſed very little ceremony, or form of trial, but as far as appears, condemned them to death almoſt as ſoon as brought to the bar, without much apology or prefatory introduction to their ſentence. Nor did William Leddra meet with much better treatment; yet he was allowed ſome ſemblance of a trial, but without a jury, and ſome liberty

to speak for himself (a privilege arbitrarily refused to the former) and still greater liberty of vindicating his cause, was permitted Wenlock Christison, the last who was tried for his life, upon their act for banishment, on pain of death, and who, with fortitude founded upon conscious integrity, bravely maintained his cause and his innocence, and clearly exposed the arbitrary measures of these persecutors; undismayed at their menaces, and at the prospect of losing his life under their hands, as his brethren had done, he steadfastly defended himself against power without right, and with sound reasoning pleaded his cause, to the conviction of the audience, and even some of his judges, in his favour: so that although the intemperate governor in his passion condemned him to death, he, and his associates, were discouraged by the current of popular odium, or fear of the consequence, from putting the sentence in execution.

It was at the time, when they were passing sentence of death on William Leddra, that Wenlock Christison, who had been also banished on pain of death, not only returned to Boston, as with his life in his hand, but came openly into the court. His appearance there at that time struck the court with a sudden damp and dismay, so that for some time there was a general silence. But after a while recovering themselves, they ordered him to be brought to the bar; when the marshal bade him pull off his hat, which he refused, and a short dialogue ensued, as followeth: Secretary Rawson. *Is not your name Wenlock Christison?* Wenlock. *Yes.* Endicot. *Wast not thou banished upon pain of death?* Wenlock. *Yes, I was.* Endicot. *What dost thou here then?* Wenlock. *I am come to warn you that you should*

CHAP.
III.
1661.
Wenlock
Christison.

CHAP. shed no more innocent blood: for the blood you
 III. have shed already cries to the Lord for vengeance.

1661.

Whereupon the governor ordered him into custody. On the day that William Leddra was executed, the court sat again, and thinking to terrify Wenlock by the example of William's death, had him brought into court, where both the governor Endicot and deputy Bellingham endeavoured, but in vain, to daunt the valiant confessor with dreadful menaces, telling him, that except he would renounce his religion, he should surely die. But he, without the least hesitation, answered them, Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my master, but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save it. This undaunted reply put a stop to their further procedure at present; so they sent him back to prison, to be kept close prisoner till the next court, which was to be held the latter end of the third month, and the beginning of the fourth month succeeding; at which he was again brought to the bar and put upon his trial.

His trial.

The first question put to him by the governor was, What he had to say for himself, why he should not die? *Wenlock.* I have done nothing worthy of death: if I had, I refuse not to die. *Governor.* Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished. *Wenlock.* I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven; not in contempt to any one of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body.

body. Take heed, for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God. CHAP.
III.

Major-general Adderton. You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord are not come upon us yet. 1661.

Wenlock. Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race, then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, * it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it. By what law will you put me to death? *Court.* We have a law, and by our law, you are to die. *Wenlock.* So said the Jews of Christ, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die: Who empowered you to make that law? *Court.* We have a patent and are patentees, judge whether we have not power

H h 2

* It is very remarkable that some time after, this officer who did thus in a manner bid defiance to heaven, having been on a certain day exercising the soldiers with much ostentation, as he was returning home in the evening, near the place where they usually loosed the Quakers from the cart after they had whipped them, a his horse suddenly affrighted threw him with such violence that he instantly died a shocking spectacle, his eyes being dashed out of his head, his brains forced out at his nose, and the blood running out of his ears: Being taken up, and brought into the court-house, where he had been active in sentencing innocent people to death, his blood ran through the floor, exhibiting to the spectators an affecting instance of divine punishment of a daring and hardened persecutor, made a frightful example of that judgment, which when warned of, he had openly despised and treated with disdain, and which, as foretold, overtook him as a thief in the night.

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 270. Sewel, p. 343.

C H A P. to make laws? *Wenlock.* How! have you
 III. power to make laws repugnant to the laws of
 1661. England? *Governor.* Nay. *Wenlock.* Then
 you are gone beyond your bounds, and have
 forfeited your patent, and this is more than you
 can answer. Are you subjects to the King, yea
 or nay?

Secretary Rawson. What will you infer from
 that, what good will that do you? *Wenlock.*
 If you are, say so; for in your petition to the
 King, you desire that he will protect you, and that
 you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal
 subjects. *Court.* Yes. *Wenlock.* So am I, and
 for any thing I know am as good as you, if not
 better: for if the King did but know your
 hearts, as God knows them, he would see that
 your hearts are as rotten towards him as they
 are towards God. Therefore seeing that you
 and I are subjects to the King, I demand to be
 tried by the laws of my own nation. *Court.*
 You shall be tried by a bench and jury *. *Wen-*
lock. That is not the law, but the manner of it;
 for if you will be as good as your word, you
 must set me at liberty, for I never heard or read
 of any law that was in England to hang Qua-
 kers. *Governor.* There is a law to hang Jesuits.
Wenlock. If you put me to death, it is not be-
 cause I go under the name of a Jesuit, but a Qua-
 ker, therefore I appeal to the laws of my own
 nation. *Court.* You are in our hands and have
 broken our laws, and we will try you.

Wenlock.

* Those who had been condemned to death before him
 were deprived of this privilege; but the government of Eng-
 land being changed by the King's restoration, they began to
 be afraid to go on in the former course, of condemning without
 a trial by jury, as being subversive of the fundamental laws of
 England, and rights of Englishmen.

Wenlock. Your will is your law, and what you have power to do, that you will do: and seeing that the jury must go forth on my life, this I have to say to you in the fear of the living God: 'Jury, take heed what you do, for you swear by the living God, *that you will true trial make, and just verdict give, according to the evidence.* Jury, look for your evidence: what have I done to deserve death? Keep your hands out of innocent blood.' This one of the jurymen acknowledged to be good counsel, yet the generality, either prejudiced in their minds, or afraid of the displeasure of the court, from which they had received their lesson, soon brought him in guilty. Wenlock then said, I deny all guilt, for my conscience is clear in the sight of God. Governor. The jury hath condemned thee. Wenlock. The Lord doth justify me, who art thou that condemnest?

C H A P.

III.

1661.

Then the court proceeded to vote as to the sentence of death, to which several of them would not consent, being by his steadfastness in manifesting his innocence, and the iniquity of their unsanctioned law, convinced in their consciences that he had done nothing worthy of death. This dissent provoked the governor to that unseemly degree, that in a rage, throwing something down on the table, he cried *I could find in my heart to go home.*

The court divided.

To which Wenlock replied, It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work.

Governor. You that will not consent record it. I thank God, I am not afraid to give judgment. Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence: You must return to the place from whence

CHAPTER

III.

1661.

Yet the
governor
passes sen-
tence of
death upon
him.

whence you came; and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you be dead, dead, dead, upon the 13th day of June, being the fifth day of the week.

Wenlock. The will of the Lord be done. In whose will I came amongst you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me to the last gasp, I do not question it: known be it to you all, that if you have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come: and if you have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I believe, you shall never more take Quakers lives from them. Note my words. Do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants: what do you gain by it? For the last man you put to death here are five come in his room. And if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.

Governor. Take him away.

The holy confidence with which this concluding speech of Wenlock's was uttered, considered with the sequel, seem sufficient to authorize the opinion, that a supernatural influence suggested it, notwithstanding the prevailing notion amongst the learned of this world that all pretensions to inspiration are enthusiastick; the scripture informs us that great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment; but there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.

According

According to the governor's order, Wenlock
 Christison was taken back to prison, where he
 continued in faith and patience, resigned to the
 will of God, and to suffer death for the testi-
 mony of a good conscience. But before the day
 appointed for his execution, an order of court
 was issued for the enlargement of him, and twen-
 ty seven others then in prison for their christian
 testimony.

C H A P.

III.

1661.

An order
 for releas-
 ing the
 Quakers
 out of pri-
 son.

When the marshal and constable came to set
 them at liberty, they informed them it was in
 consequence of a * new law : upon which Wen-
 lock remarked that " It was thought the gallows
 " had been their last weapon, that their magi-
 " strates had alledged that their law was a good
 " and wholesome law, made for their peace,
 " and the safe-guard of their country, adding,
 " what ! are your hands weakened ? the power
 " of God is over you all." The prison doors be-
 ing set open, the prisoners were by appointment
 of the court, by a guard armed with swords,
 driven out of the jurisdiction into the wilderness-
 country, and there left.

This cessation of sanguinary proceedings, by
 the subsequent, plainly appears not to be owing
 to any tenderness, or recovery to a better mind
 in the persecutors ; but partly to the general
 odium and outcry of the more rational and
 moderate part on both sides the Atlantic, against
 their putting men to death for religion, whilst
 themselves and their party, were not only stig-
 matizing, with every opprobrious epithet, that
 hierarchy, from whom they had experienced far
 less severity ; but had recourse to arms, or to
 flight

* This new law was for banishing them, and if they re-
 turned, whipping them from town to town out of their juris-
 diction.

CHAP. flight to get the power into their own hands,
 III. and abuse it, even in a superior degree; yet
 1651. chiefly, I apprehend, owing to the change of
 government in England. From the king and
 ministry, betwixt whom and them there was no
 cordiality, they had no reason to expect any partiality in their favour, and being convicted in their consciences, that they had transgressed the bounds of their authority, and the limitations of their charter, fearfulness of being called to account at this time, when their party had lost the power of skreening them, was I believe the most prevalent reason with them to drop the execution of their illiberal and persecuting law; but the spirit * of malevolence and persecution continued to actuate them still. In imitation of their brethren here, they called the Quakers vagabonds, and made a law to whip them as such through every town in their way out of their jurisdiction; of the severe execution of this law, we shall see many affecting instances in the succeeding parts of this history, and that they finally ceased not their inhuman severities until the principal agents were arrested to appear in judgment before an higher tribunal than theirs.

When the tidings of these severe executions reached their friends in England, from the impulse

* In Thomas Chalkley's journal, in his travels in New-England, in 1693, we meet with the following passage, "I being a stranger and a traveller could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian welcome I had into Boston, the metropolis of New England, *Oh what a pity, said one that all your society were not hanged with the other four!*" This shews that the spirit of persecution was alive in some of that people, long after the power of gratifying it was restrained. Bessie.

pulse of that fraternal sympathy and affection, which made them nearly feel for and with each other in their afflictions, they thought it their duty to make immediate application to the king. For this purpose Edward Burrough, who had on many former occasions, solicited for the relief of his friends, when under sufferings in the various changes of government, repaired to court, to repeat his solicitations on behalf of the sufferers in New-England; and having obtained access to the King's presence, informed him, *there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped might over-run all: to which the king replied, I will stop that vein.* It seems the king was pre-disposed to stop their career by a previous information of their proceedings and disposition from George Bishop's book, containing a narrative of the cruel persecution in New England, wherein reading a passage of Major General Dennison's reply to some that threatened to complain of their illegal proceedings, which was this; *this year you will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed:* This passage immediately struck him, so that calling to some of the lords to hear it, he said, *Lo, these are my good subjects of New-England, but I will put a stop to them.* The king being hereby prepossessed against them, readily complied with Edward Burrough's solicitations, who representing the case as urgent, as not knowing how many more might suffer death, in case of delay, he immediately gave orders to the secretary of state to prepare a mandamus to stop their proceedings, which being soon drawn and perfected,

CHAP.

III.

1661.

Edward Burrough solicits the king to stop the persecution in New England.

The king in compliance with his solicitation orders his mandamus to stop it, and deposes Samuel Shattock his commissioner to carry it over.

CHAP. perfected, the king at the instance of Edward
 III. Burrough, granted a deputation to Samuel Shat-
 tock, an inhabitant of New England, and under
 1661. sentence of banishment on pain of death, to
 carry over the mandamus, a copy whereof fol-
 loweth, viz.

“ CHARLES R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well.
 “ having been informed, that several of our sub-
 “ jects amongst you, called Quakers, have been
 “ and are imprisoned by you, whereof some
 “ have been executed, and others (as hath been
 “ represented unto us) are in danger to undergo
 “ the like; we have thought fit to signify our
 “ pleasure in that behalf for the future: And
 “ do hereby require, that if there be any of
 “ those people called Quakers amongst you, now
 “ already condemned to suffer death, or other
 “ corporal punishment; or that are imprisoned,
 “ and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you
 “ are to forbear to proceed any further there-
 “ in; but that you forthwith send the said per-
 “ sons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over
 “ into their own kingdom of England, together
 “ with their respective crimes or offences laid to
 “ their charge: To the end such course may be
 “ taken with them here, as shall be agreeable
 “ to our laws and their demerits. And for so
 “ doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient
 “ warrant and discharge. Given at our court
 “ at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1660,
 “ in the thirteenth year of our reign.

“ Subscribed:

“ Subscribed : To our trusty and well beloved C H A P.
 “ John Endicot, Esq; and to all and every III.
 “ other the governor or governors of our Plan-
 “ tations of New England, and of all the Co- 1661.
 “ lonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or
 “ hereafter shall be; and to all and every the
 “ ministers and officers of our Plantations and
 “ Colonies whatsoever, within the continent
 “ of New England.

By his Majesty's command,

WILLIAM MORRIS.”

In order to lose no time in expediting a matter of such consequence, Ralph Goldsmith, A ship hired on purpose to carry it over.
 commander of a good ship, and one of their own society, was engaged for three hundred pounds to sail in ten days, who immediately preparing and sailing accordingly, arrived at Boston in about six weeks. On their arrival in the harbour, some of the citizens coming on board to look for letters (which would not be delivered that day) at their return on shore, reported that the ship was full of Quakers, and amongst them was Shattock, who was under sentence of banishment on pain of death; but of his errand and authority they were ignorant.

Next morning Samuel Shattock went on shore, accompanied only by the master of the ship, and going directly to the governor's house, produced his commission with the King's mandamus to the governor, who after the perusal thereof, and consulting the deputy governor, The mandamus delivered and partly stopped.
 said, *We shall obey his Majesty's command.* After this the passengers came ashore, and had a religious

CHAP. gious meeting with their friends in the town, to
 III. return thanksgivings to the God and Father of
 ~~~~~ all their mercies, for his signal mercy manifested  
 1661. in this admirable deliverance.

Not long after, the following order of the court at Boston was issued.

“ To William Salter, keeper of the prison at  
 “ Boston.

Order for  
 the release  
 of prisoners.

“ You are required, by authority and order  
 “ of the general court, to release and discharge  
 “ the Quakers, who at present are in your cus-  
 “ tody : See that you do not neglect this,

“ By order of the court,

“ EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.”

*Boston,*  
*9th Dec. 1661.*



## C H A P. IV.

*The Rulers of New England send a Deputation to the King with an Address of Congratulation, and Accusation of the Quakers.—Interview between some of the People called Quakers and the New-England Deputies.—The Deputies, being alarmed, returned home.—Act against the Quakers brought into the House of Commons.—Friends of London use endeavours to get it stopped.—Edward Burrough replies to the suggestion of danger to the public Peace.—Richard Hubberthorn to the danger of Insurrections from their Meetings.—George Whitehead to their Meetings being termed unlawful.—They assert their Right to the Benefit of the King's Declaration from Breda.—The Bill passed.*

THE rulers of the province of New England, during the time of the Commonwealth, and the succeeding revolutions of government in England, seem to have considered themselves as independents in state, as well as church, and we see had acted accordingly; making violent and arbitrary laws, without paying any regard to the restrictions of their charter, and executing them in as arbitrary a manner; looking upon the power as established in their own hands there, and those of their own party on this side, they would admit of no appeal to England, while they had nothing to fear from England:

C H A P.  
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The New  
England  
rulers send  
a deputation  
to the king  
with an ad-  
dress of con-  
gratulation  
and accusa-  
tion of the  
Quakers so  
called.

land: But after the king's restoration the case was altered, and then they seemed to be really alarmed with fear of the consequences of the undue exertion of unlicensed authority, and their refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of England, in refusing appeals for trial by its laws: In order to avert the danger and apprehended ill consequences of their misrule, they concluded to send a deputation to the king\*. Colonel Temple was previously sent to acquaint him that in submission to his commands the Quakers were set at liberty; and not long after he was followed by Simon Broadstreet, secretary of the Massachusetts colony, and John Norton, chief priest of Boston, with an address of congratulation to the king on his accession to the throne. This address introduced in a style of abject servility, proceeds to apologize for the unlicensed severities against the Quakers, by a most virulent and false accusation of them, as a people not fit to live on the earth; and, as if the king had not a better opportunity of knowing their principles and practice in England, where the body of them resided, they tell the king, "That the Quakers were "open capital blasphemers;† open seducers "from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, "and from the scriptures as the rule of life; "open

\* Neale.

† This declamatory abuse proves nothing but that the penmen were versed in bearing false witness and calling names, and that their implacability to the Quakers retained its full strength after their hands were tied up from putting them to death.



“ open enemies to government itself †, establish- CHAP.  
 “ ed in the hands of any but men of their own IV.  
 “ principles ; malignant promoters of doctrines  
 “ directly tending to subvert both our church 1661.  
 “ and state.—That after all other means used  
 “ in vain, they were at last constrained, for  
 “ their own safety, to pass sentence of banish-  
 “ ment on pain of death.”

After this notable apology for persecution, and depriving their fellow-subjects of their civil and religious rights, their property, liberty and lives, they proceed to supplicate the king for his protection in the continuance of their religious and civil liberties, acquainting him, \*that for liberty to walk in the way of the gospel, with all good conscience, they had chosen the wilderness, to which they removed, before the pleasant land they had left behind, rather than submit to the impositions of the then prevailing hierarchy, which they could not do, without an evil conscience.

† *Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

This again is not only mere declamation without proof, but the most groundless assertion, and most diametrically opposite to their real character, that could be imagined, to which a series of conduct from their first rise had given the lie. Men that by principle had been always submissive to every government under which they lived ; sought after neither the emoluments, the honours, nor the power of the kingdoms of this world, but simply for protection in their religious and civil rights, were not, nor could be either open or secret enemies to government ; neither did they ever discover even a wish to have the secular government in their hands. But here they measure the Quakers by their own rule of action, having, in purple characters, manifested themselves enemies to every government, but in their own hands, and stopped neither at deceitful nor violent measures to seize and retain it in them.

\* Neale.



CHAP. science. Who could imagine that these tender-

IV. conscienced men, should so soon lay aside all regard to the tender consciences of others, all remains of tenderness and common humanity?

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That voluntary exiles for religious liberty, should almost immediately forget the value of it so far, as to refuse the enjoyment thereof to all but themselves; that those who could not submit to the impositions of the hierarchy, without an evil conscience, should surpass that hierarchy in the cruelty of punishing such as would not violate their consciences in submitting to them; or that any men should be so inconsistent as to justify and deprecate persecution in the same address.

Interview  
between  
some of the  
people called  
Quakers  
and the  
New Eng-  
land depu-  
ties.

Whilst these New England deputies were in London, the Quakers, so called there, had several interviews with them upon the subject of putting their friends to death; in which they endeavoured to palliate their proceedings, and disguise the cruelty in which they were both deeply concerned: Norton, who had been a principal promoter of all their sanguinary laws, excused himself by saying he did not assist at the trial of those who were put to death, nor had advised it; but John Copeland, who had suffered the amputation of his ear at Boston, charged the contrary upon him. Broadstreet could not help owning his being a party in condemning them to death; and being, with his associates, interrogated whether they would acknowledge themselves subject to the laws of England, they answered in the affirmative: Being asked by what law they did it? They replied, by the same law that Jesuits were put to death in England. George Fox, upon this, demanded  
of





of them, whether they believed that his friends whom they had executed were Jesuits, or jesuitically inclined; they answered, Nay. Then said he, ye have murdered them, for it plainly appears you have put them to death arbitrarily without any law. Upon which Broadstreet insinuated their aim was to insnare them. But George Fox observed they had caught themselves; and if the father of William Robinson (who was not of their persuasion) were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. And some of the royalists were earnest with the Quakers to prosecute them as murderers of the king's subjects without any law or authority from him. But their security lay in the pacifick and forbearing principles of those whom they had persecuted, whereby they were directed not to avenge themselves, but commit their cause to the righteous judge, who will render to every man according to his works.

However, these deputies being alarmed, and fearing the danger of staying in England, thought it safest to secure themselves by a precipitate retreat, and return home, where it seems they met with a cool reception.

What they had in commission, besides delivering the address, I meet with no clear account; but Neal informs us the country was not satisfied with their conduct, he adds, "Whether they flattered the court too much, or promised more for their country than they ought is uncertain; but when Norton came home, his friends were shy of him, and some of the people told him to his face that he had laid the foundation of the ruin of their liberties; Vol. I. I i "which

C H A P.  
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1661.

The deputies being alarmed return home.



CHAP. " which struck him to the heart, and brought  
IV.

1661.

" him into such a melancholy habit of body,  
" as hastened his death\*." William Sewel in-  
forms us that this Norton bowed to the arch-  
bishop with no less reverence than to the king;  
that by fawning upon the church party (whom  
they hated) they found means to reserve a  
power to be vexatious to the Quakers so called,  
although they were prohibited from putting them  
to death: That many of the bishops and others  
entertained inimical dispositions to this society,  
the severe persecutions soon after raised against  
them evidently demonstrate.

For they and their partisans at court and in  
parliament having now the ascendancy, after ex-  
cluding the Presbyterians from all offices of trust  
or emolument in church or state, proceeded to  
punish the Quakers, who affected neither, nor  
had

\* His death was very sudden; having been at his wor-  
ship in the fore part of the day, and intending to go thither  
again in the afternoon, as he was walking in his own house  
he was observed to fetch a great groan; and leaning his head  
against the chimney piece was heard to say, *The hand, or  
judgment of the Lord is upon me*, and so sunk down, and spoke  
no more, and had fallen into the fire, if an ancient man pre-  
sent had not prevented it. He having been a principal insti-  
gator of the magistrates to all their severe persecution of this  
innocent people, even to put them to death, it was natural for  
them to consider the manner of his death as a judgment upon  
him, and to rank him with several others who had been ac-  
tive promoters of cruelty against them, many of whom died  
not a natural death, but were either cut off by a sudden  
stroke, or died with disagreeable and loathsome symptoms  
about them. Neale says, " This reflection of the Quakers  
" (upon Norton's death) is very unjust, it being impossible for  
" us to distinguish between a natural and judicial death; yet I  
" heartily wish that neither he nor any body else, by their  
" unchristian severities, had given them occasion to make it."



had administered any just occasion of offence, CHAP.  
 merely on account of their religious scruples IV.  
 and way of worship. For this purpose a bill  
 was brought into parliament, entitled *An act* 1661.  
*for preventing mischiefs and dangers, that may* Act against  
*arise from certain persons called Quakers, and* Quakers  
*others, refusing to take lawful oaths.* brought  
into the  
house of  
commons.

Although the title of the bill mentions only the refusal to take oaths; yet the bill itself takes in their religious assemblies, enacting that if five or more Quakers of sixteen years of age or upwards assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship, as well as refusing to take an oath, the party offending shall forfeit for the first offence a sum not exceeding five pounds, or suffer three months imprisonment, for the second offence the penalty to be doubled, and for the third they were to abjure the realm or be transported.

Some of this society in London getting early intelligence of this bill, and the contents thereof, thought their duty to themselves and their brethren demanded their intercession with the parliament to stop its progress. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead attended the parliament to solicit against passing the bill into an act: When it was committed, they attended the committee sundry times; but their solicitations were not followed with the like success as Edward Burrough's late application to the king had been. They were again admitted to give their reasons against the act, at the bar of the house. But political considerations, party animosity, and bigotted and exasperated zeal for the church (so called) were the moving causes of action with the majority:

*Friends in  
 London use  
 endeavours  
 to get it  
 stopped.*





CHAPTER. Appeals to their reason and humanity were vain:

IV. A resolution determined upon these motives

1661.

deafened their ears to the clearest arguments addrest to the one, and deadened their hearts to the feelings of the other. Their admission of these Quakers to plead their cause seems no more than matter of form, and to save appearances; for if they had not been predetermined to pass the bill at all events, the weakness and futility of the charges brought in support thereof, and the urgent reasons advanced against it, appear sufficient to influence any rational and unprejudiced body of men to lay it aside.

Their sentiments respecting oaths had been lately presented to the king and council in writing by Edward Burrough, in a paper he entitled *a just and righteous plea*, wherein he exhibited at large the reasons why the people called Quakers refused oaths in general, and particularly the oath of allegiance; that it was not from any disrespect or unfaithfulness to the king and his government, but merely for conscience-sake, being afraid of disobeying Christ's command, which was express and determinate *swear not at all*: That they are and shall be faithful, innocent and peaceable in their respective stations and conditions, under the government of king Charles II. whom they acknowledge supreme magistrate and governor over this kingdom, and are conscientiously obedient to him in all his commands, either by doing what he justly requireth, or patiently suffering whatever is inflicted upon them, when any thing is required which they apprehend inconsistent with the just law of God. That it had ever been with them an established religious principle, confirmed by a consonant practice.



practice, to enter into no plots, combinations or rebellions against government, nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means.

IV.

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Having thus lately presented to the government their reasons for declining oaths; their remonstrances to the parliament were principally confined to their religious meetings: \* In the preamble to the bill it was recited that their meetings were to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people; this they denied, Edward Burrough alleging they were in nowise to the terror of the people, but peaceable and harmless, and purely for the worship of God in that manner and form, which by his law in their hearts, they were persuaded he required of them; that in this respect they endeavoured to copy after the example of the primitive christians; that being convinced of the necessity of preserving a good conscience inviolate and void of offence to God or man, no human law or ordinance could dissolve the obligation of the superior law of God in their consciences, or exculpate them in disobeying thereof; and that as the worship of God was an indispensable duty required by this law, they could not refrain keeping up their meetings for that purpose, whatever sufferings human laws might subject them to on that account; because if, through fear of man, they should neglect this reasonable service of their maker, they thereby violate this divine law in their consciences, and that peace

Edward  
Burrough  
replies to  
the suggest-  
ed danger  
of the pub-  
lic peace.

\* George Whitehead's Journal, page 261, 262, &c.



CHAP. of mind, which they preferred to every tempo-  
 IV. rary enjoyment; that, therefore, they presume  
 1661. they ought not to pass a bill of this nature, it  
 being contrary to the law of God.

It being also suggested in the said preamble that being numerous and holding a strict correspondence amongst themselves, their meetings might be more dangerous to contrive and cause insurrections, &c.

Richard  
 Hubber-  
 thorn to  
 the danger  
 of insurrec-  
 tions from  
 their meet-  
 ings.

To this Richard Hubberthorn made answer to this purport. That there could be no such danger in their meetings as was implied, because being public, and open for the reception of all persons, who chose to resort to them, to see and hear all that was transacted therein, there was no probability that they should plot or contrive insurrections in the face of the world; that the reducing of their meetings to the number of four or five, besides the family, appeared to be a measure not calculated for the preventing of such pernicious designs, if they were a people of such bad principles (which they were not) but rather to furnish more convenient opportunities for promoting them, for it would not break their correspondence, but afford them the means of carrying it on more privately, and in a manner better accommodated for forming and advancing a plot: Wherefore it appeared more prudent and eligible to suffer their meetings to be public, as they were, rather than to punish a numerous body of people, on causeless suspicion of danger, supported by no matter of fact, or the least occasion administered by them.

One of the members, called Sir John Goodrick, being liberal in his invectives and common-  
 place





place calumnies against them and their meetings, terming them unlawful or contrary to law, and tending to seduce the people from the church;

C H A P.  
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George Whitehead replied to him, that if their meetings were contrary to law, it implied there exists some law already to which they are contrary; and if there be a law already in force against them, it seems quite superfluous and unnecessary for you to make a new one: But, we trust, no such thing can be proved against us, as that our meetings, properly speaking, are in themselves unlawful, being in obedience to the Lord, only for his worship, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive christians, and therefore not unlawful in the proper sense of the word. He also observed, that if they suffered for keeping them up, under persuasion of duty, they should suffer for the cause of God, and so commit their cause to him who would judge righteously between them and their persecutors, exhorting the house to act in his fear; for they might as well make a law, that the Quakers (so called) should not pray in the name of Jesus Christ, as one that they should not assemble for divine worship, which they dared no more to refrain, than Daniel did to pray to the true God, although it was contrary to king Darius's decree.

He desired them to consider what guilt and disrepute they might bring upon themselves, by making a law, the execution whereof must produce grievous sufferings upon thousands of innocent people in the nation (who in justice ought to be protected by law) endanger the utter ruin of many families, and the loss of many lives in prisons.

When



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When mankind, from the illusions of party-heat, come to recover sound and dispassionate judgment, what an indelible stain must it leave on the reputation or memory of those, who deaf to every sentiment of justice and compassion, could be instrumental to the oppression of an innocent people! against whom no matter of fact, or crime worthy of suffering, could be proved, or justly laid to their charge.

He observed further, that if the bill before them was passed into a law, it would give encouragement to wicked, rude and lawless persons to abuse them beyond the law, as they had lately done upon the King's proclamation; when several of their friends were by rude fellows taken out of their beds; poor men dragged from their lawful employments, and their poor families, whose subsistence depended on their daily labour; others seized travelling about their lawful occasions on the King's highway, and all hurried to prison illegally, without warrant, or authority, even from the proclamation. Therefore, in case the intended act was passed, they had reason to apprehend the repetition of these abuses to a greater degree; as such rude and unprincipled persons would look upon it as a licence, to gratify their malicious dispositions with all kinds of cruelty and injurious treatment of them.

They assert  
their right  
to the bene-  
fit of the  
King's de-  
claration  
from Breda.

Finally, they assert their right to the indulgence to tender consciences upon the King's solemn promise in his declaration, that no man shall be called to account for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom. That their demeanour having been peaceable, inoffensive to their neighbours,



neighbours, and submissive to the government, they were within the description of those who were entitled to the indulgence; and having never forfeited their right thereto, they could not be restrained in matters of worship and conscience towards God, without wounding the King's honour, and violating the publick faith.

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1661.

Conclusive as these arguments were, although they had an effect upon several of the members, so that they appeared serious and sober in their carriage towards the appellants, and some of them owned, what they advanced was very reasonable, and if the members had feared God, or regarded equity, they would not have passed the act; and although supported by the abilities of Edmund Waller, (distinguished for his poetical performances,) in a candid and liberal speech on the occasion; as also by Michael Mallet, Sir John Vaughan and others; yet they were ineffectual with the majority of the house, composed of courtiers, pensioners to the crown, and bigots to episcopal authority, with whom the dictates of the court, and the imagined interests and power of the episcopal church preponderated, The bill against reason, right and justice, so that the bill passed. was passed into a law; in consequence whereof, great persecutions and imprisonments ensued.





## C H A P. V.

*Account of Imprisonments.—Steadfastness of the People called Quakers.—Modelling the Magistracy in consequence of the Corporation Act.—Disposition of the Judges.—The People called Quakers the greatest Sufferers.—Conjectural Enquiry into the Causes. 1. Their pacific Principles. 2. Their Constancy in keeping up their Meetings openly. 3. Their Plain-dealing.—Richard Brown's Proceedings.—Account of John Perrot.—Commencement of the Execution of the late Act.—Rude and illegal Behaviour of Philip Millar.—Trial of John Crook and others.—They are not prosecuted by the late Act; but by the 3d. James I. for declining the Oath of Allegiance.—Third Day's Trial. The first Jury discharged, and a new one picked for the Trial.—The Prisoners move for Time to traverse the Indictment, which is refused.—The Jury sworn and Evidence given out of the Hearing of the Prisoners.—Sentence of Premunire passed upon them.—Reflection on the Hardships attending the Society, and their Constancy.—Several others run to a Premunire for not swearing.—Robert Smith, Thomas Stordy, and Stephen Pearson, John King and others, Ambrose Rigg, Thomas Goodyear, and Benjamin Staples.*

C H A P. V. **A**MONGST the great number imprisoned upon this act were the three before-mentioned advocates against the law, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, the

1661.

Account of  
imprison-  
ments.

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the two former of whom, with many others, finished their testimony to the truth, by laying down their lives in prison for the conscientious discharge of their duty, in obeying God in contradiction to the ordinances of men. The sincerity of the members of this society was put to a severe test, by the multiplied calamities that befel them by this and other persecuting laws, of which this parliament are reckoned to have made more than any other since the reformation; but the unwearied patience and fortitude with which they bore their sufferings, to the loss of the substance, liberty and lives of many, is an irrefragable proof of their integrity; and that they were sustained by divine support, to bear hardships above the power of mere humanity to endure, with a firmness, which the persevering cruelty of their persecutors could not overcome; heartily disposed, above all things, to please their Maker, and having an eye to the recompense of reward, they were enabled, in the steady pursuit of future happiness, patiently to endure the afflictions permitted to beset them in their pilgrimage on earth.

\* In pursuance of the corporation act, the corporations had been modelled by commissioners appointed by the parliament, and invested with an absolute authority to deprive every officer or magistrate, who was not entirely devoted to the King and church of England, of their offices. This power was exercised with the greatest rigour, so that few or none were continued in the magistracy, or put into commission in corporations or elsewhere, who were not of the same principles with the majority of the house of commons,

C H A P.  
V.  
1661.  
Steadfast-  
ness of the  
persecuted  
Quakers.

Modelling  
the magis-  
tracy in  
conse-  
quence of  
the corpo-  
ration act.



CHAP. V. mons, and determined to execute the penal laws with severity.

1662.

Disposition  
of the  
judges.

Not only the justices and inferior magistrates were chosen from men of this partial cast; but the judges and other administrators of the law, who ought to be strict dispensers of justice without respect to persons, seem to have been selected to fill the benches, more in consideration of a passionate spirit against non-conformists, than that jurisprudence or that conscientious reverence to equity and legal justice, which are the peculiar ornaments and peculiar qualifications of that important station, to which the security of life, liberty and estate is entrusted: it is manifest that, on many occasions, they paid little regard to equity or decorum, but discovered an intemperate party spirit, and palpable partiality in the seat of judgment, influencing the juries by undue means to bring in unjust verdicts, menacing and fining them, when they were too conscientious to do so: loading the prisoners with abusive reproaches, and passing sentence upon them in an insulting and passionate temper.

Quakers  
the greatest  
sufferers.

Conjectural  
enquiry in-  
to the  
causes, I.  
th. pacific  
principles.

Of this combination of inimical dispositions all the classes of non-conformists felt the severe effects; but the heaviest weight of sufferings fell upon the Quakers, who had administered least occasion. The reason why they were marked out in particular as objects of such unrelenting cruelty, were probably these; first, their pacific principles, which ought to have secured them protection from equal government, might encourage such magistrates, as were at this time in authority, to prosecute them with the utmost rigour of the law, and frequently beyond the law, as apprehending no danger of being called to account by





by them, or as depending upon the protection of C H A P.  
their superiors. V.

Secondly, while other dissenters could temporize so far as to disguise and conceal themselves, and hold their meetings clandestinely to escape the enacted penalties; the Quakers, perfect strangers to dissimulation, and undaunted in bearing a publick testimony against the iniquity of human laws, prohibiting them from their conscientious duty of worshipping God, in the way they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, thought it base and dishonourable, as not confessing Christ before men, to desert their religious meetings for fear of suffering: therefore they valiantly, and often singly, kept them up in the hottest time of persecution at the appointed times and places, as believing no law of man could exempt them from the obligation they were under to obey the law of God, of which his worship, according to the conviction of their own consciences, and not according to the prescriptions of men, was an especial part; nor rescue them from his righteous judgment for the violation of known duty. This their persecutors would needs consider as flying in the face of law and government, and being greatly provoked at their constancy (which they termed obstinacy) as baffling their scheme of totally subduing all the dissenting sects, they exerted every effort of their malice, and their power, to make them more compliant to their wills.

2. Their  
constancy  
in keeping  
up their  
meetings  
openly.

1662.

Thirdly, believing it their duty to promote Their plain  
righteousness in the earth, and testify against sin dealing even  
and iniquity wherever or in whomsoever it ap- with the  
peared, as they had, under the former govern- greatest.  
ment, borne plain testimonies against the hypo-  
crisy and outside sanctity of the formal professors  
of



C H A P. of religion, so they honestly testified against the  
 V. open profanity, debauchery and contempt of  
 1662. all religion of this age.

We have two epistles to King Charles, long before Robert Barclay's dedication of his apology, written by the two George Foxs; the first from George Fox the elder, so called for distinction, as the elder member of the society, written soon after the King's restoration, and the other some time after, a copy of each whereof I insert; as a specimen of the honest plain-dealing of men, who, with Elihu, knew not to flatter, lest in so doing their maker should take them away.

“ To the KING.

“ King Charles,

“ Thou camest not into this nation by sword,  
 “ nor by victory of war; but by the power of  
 “ the Lord: now if thou dost not live in it,  
 “ thou wilt not prosper. And if the Lord hath  
 “ shewed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and  
 “ thou dost not shew mercy, and forgive; the  
 “ Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them  
 “ that pray for thee. And if thou do not stop  
 “ persecution, and persecutors, and take away  
 “ all laws, that do hold up persecution about  
 “ religion; but if thou do persist in them, and  
 “ uphold persecution; that will make thee as  
 “ blind, as them that have gone before thee.  
 “ For persecution hath always blinded those,  
 “ that have gone into it: and such God by his  
 “ power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts  
 “ upon; and bringeth salvation to his oppressed  
 “ ones. And if thou dost bear the sword in  
 “ vain,



“ vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-  
 “ games, (with fidlers, drums, trumpets, to play  
 “ at them) with such like abominations and  
 “ vanities, be encouraged, or go unpunished; as  
 “ setting up of may-poles, with the image of  
 “ the crown a top of them, &c. the nations will  
 “ quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and  
 “ be as bad as the old world; who grieved the  
 “ Lord, till he overthrew them: and so he will  
 “ you, if these things be not suddenly prevent-  
 “ ed. Hardly was there so much wickedness, at  
 “ liberty before now, as there is at this day;  
 “ as though there was no terror, nor sword of  
 “ magistracy; which doth not grace a govern-  
 “ ment, nor is a praise to them that do well.  
 “ Our prayers are for them that are in authori-  
 “ ty; that under them we may live a godly life,  
 “ in which we have peace: and that we may  
 “ not be brought into ungodliness by them. So  
 “ hear, and consider, and do good in thy time,  
 “ whilst thou hast power; and be merciful, and  
 “ forgive; that is the way to overcome, and  
 “ obtain the kingdom of Christ.

GEORGE FOX.”

Extract of an Epistle of George Fox the younger  
 to King Charles II.

“ The King of Kings hath beheld all thy act-  
 “ ings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walk-  
 “ ing in obscure places; and thou hast not hid  
 “ thy counsels from the Almighty, but he hath  
 “ seen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good  
 “ words have not deceived him, nor those that  
 “ purely stood in his counsel: For he hath seen  
 “ the snares and the pits, which have been privily  
 “ preparing





CHAPTER.

V.

1662.

“ preparing for the innocent, even in the time  
 “ when smooth words have been given. Oh!  
 “ that thou wouldest have taken counsel of the  
 “ Lord, and obeyed the same, thou shouldest  
 “ have been prospered; but thou hast taken  
 “ counsel of them that have caused thee to err:  
 “ Thou hast also sought to exalt and establish  
 “ thyself and thy own honour, and not the truth  
 “ and honour of God only, which if thou hadst  
 “ truly done, God would have honoured thee.  
 “ Thou hast greatly dishonoured and grieved the  
 “ Lord, by setting up ministers, whom he ap-  
 “ proveth not, and by providing them a forced  
 “ maintenance, that so they may make a prey of  
 “ his people, who for conscience-sake cannot put  
 “ into their mouths, being spiritually gathered  
 “ therefrom by the word of the Lord.—O friend,  
 “ it is not the person of any man which the Lord  
 “ regards, but it is righteousness which he hath  
 “ regard to; and so far as man acts in righteous-  
 “ ness, so far only is he accepted of the Lord,  
 “ whatever his station may be.  
 “ Thou hast also grieved the holy Spirit, by  
 “ thy suffering all these wicked and profane  
 “ shows and sports, which have abounded since  
 “ thy coming in. Thou hast highly displeased  
 “ the Lord God, by thy suffering persecution to  
 “ be carried on in thy name, even whilst thou in  
 “ words hast promised liberty: Yea many are  
 “ this day confined in holes and prisons for the  
 “ testimony of a good conscience. The Lord is  
 “ displeased with the pride and wickedness that  
 “ abounds both in thy dominions and in thy fam-  
 “ ily; and thou thyself hast not been such a  
 “ pattern and example as thou oughtest to have  
 “ been. When I behold the wickedness, cruelty  
 “ and oppression, which abound in this nation  
 “ in



“ in open view, besides the secret abominations, C H A P.  
 “ which are committed, and are potting and V.  
 “ lurking in chambers, what idolatry is intended  
 “ in secret to be introduced, I am ready to con- 1661.  
 “ clude it had been better for thee, thou hadst  
 “ never come. Although many men flatter and  
 “ applaud thee for selfish ends, yet I see the Lord  
 “ is displeased with thy ways. Such as thou sow-  
 “ est, such thou must reap. This is the truth  
 “ that must stand, and in love to thy soul it is  
 “ declared by him, who must deal uprightly  
 “ with all men: Though for it I suffer out-  
 “ wardly, yet I have a witness in thy conscience,  
 “ to which I am made manifest, and peace with  
 “ the Lord is my portion, which is better than  
 “ an earthly crown.”

GEORGE FOX, the younger.

<sup>1</sup> This letter being delivered to the king, it is said he seemed to be considerably affected with the contents; but that his brother the duke of York, whose temper was more gloomy, reserved, and vindictive, being greatly exasperated at the writer, advised the king to punish him; but the king, with much propriety, replied, *It were better for us to mend our lives.*

The mayor, Richard Brown, continued his severity, and sent fifty-seven more to prison; for such was his pride and passion, that he could not endure the sight of a Quaker without wrath and resentment. It happened on the 31<sup>st</sup> of the month called March this year, he espied Edward Gollin, a pretty way from him in Guildhall, with his hat on, inoffensively discoursing with some persons met there about business, whereupon the mayor

R. Brown's  
proceed-  
ings.

K k

ordered



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ordered him to be sent to Newgate: Another time, as he was going to the same place, he saw two men in the yard near Blackwell-hall, with their caps on, whereupon he sent for them, and committed them to the counter, where they were detained till the expiration of his mayoralty.

As one Philip Harwood was coming up Foster-lane, the mayor riding by, stopped his horse, and asked Philip *whether he was not a Quaker?* He answered, I am so called: Upon which the mayor, without any more words, ordered him to Newgate, where he lay about three months. He gave many instances of the cruelty of his disposition, one of which was, that when the wife of Nicholas Ridley had been sent by him to Bridewell, and fell sick there, her husband came to the mayor, interceding for her liberty; to whom he gave this churlish answer, *Let her lie there and rot, thee mayest get another wife the sooner;* and instead of shewing mercy to the sick woman, sent her husband to Newgate for asking it.

About this time, beside the heavy sufferings from the secular powers, this people were affected with intestine troubles, occasioned by the caprice and vanity of one John Perrot.

This man had joined in society with the people called Quakers pretty early, and too early taken upon him the ministerial office: Being puffed up with a vain opinion of his own abilities, he must needs go to Rome to convert the pope, and procuring one John Love to accompany him, when they arrived at Leghorn they were taken up and examined by the inquisition, and are reported upon their examination to have given their answers in a manner so satisfactory, as to obtain their





their dismissal with impunity. <sup>d</sup> From thence C H A P.  
V.  
1661. they went to Venice, and afterwards to Rome, where they had not been long till they were taken up and imprisoned; *Love*, as reported, in the inquisition, and *Perrot* in their Bedlam or hospital, for madmen. *Love* died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of his being murdered there. The report divulged was, that he had fasted to death; but it is said, some nuns confessed he was privately dispatched in the night, for his testifying against the idolatry of their religion. *Perrot* lay there sometime longer. *Sewel* represents him as a man of great natural parts; but *Thomas Elwood* as not very unfit for the prison in which he was confined, because during his confinement he writ some epistles, to be printed in England, in such an affected fantastical stile as bespoke him scarce found in mind.

At length, through the solicitation of friends to some person of note and interest there, he was released, and returned to England. If he was elevated with spiritual pride and vain conceit before he went abroad, the report of his great sufferings, joined with a great appearance of sanctity, gaining him the compassionate affection and esteem of many friends, his imaginary consequence and exaltedness of mind was increased to that degree, that he thought himself farther enlightened than *George Fox*, and the rest of his friends, and as an evidence thereof maintained that the custom of putting off their hats in joining in public prayer, was only a piece of formality and custom of the world, which ought not to be practised without an immediate motion thereto. That regard, which the exaggerated report of his sufferings had

K k 2

procured



CHAP. V. procured him, and the fondness for novelties natural to many, attached a considerable number of adherents to him, to the introducing confusion and disorder in worship. The next extravagance he adopted, was to let his beard grow, in which he was followed by several of his partisans. George Fox and the principal body of friends, foreseeing the danger of drawing off the mind from a proper attention to the necessary work of inward sanctification, into jangling and contention about outward observations of little importance, exerted their endeavours to prevent the spreading of the deception, which they could not effectually do for some years; till Perrot manifested more plainly the error of his spirit, and depravity of his heart, by the instability and enormity of his conduct. He went to America, and there his airy unstable notions led him into manifest sensualities and fleshly liberties, fantastically putting on gaudy apparel, and wearing a sword; and under the pretence of being above forms, went so far at last, as to reckon meeting for worship a form; and by his example and doctrine led many to forsake the assembling themselves together, as we shall have occasion more particularly to specify, when we come to treat of the state of this society in America, where having obtained some post under the government, he who had before professed that Christ had forbidden all swearing, is reported to have distinguished himself as a most rigorous exacter of oaths.

About the time that George Fox was excited to establish an orderly discipline in the society, he felt a warm impression of duty on his mind to appoint a meeting in London with those who had been seduced by the said Perrot into a separation from the society, to endeavour to recover them

to



to a sound understanding, and restore them to that unity of the body, which they had broken (in part at least) by their deviation; and through the divine blessing and assistance attending his and his friends labour of love, they were generally recovered, acknowledged their error, and returned into the unity of the society; whereby an end was put to this separation in England.

It was with the commencement of this year that the aforementioned act against the Quakers came in force, and the same hostile spirit that dictated the framing and passing it, discovered itself in the execution. One Philip Millar appears to

be the first that molested them in London; who, although vested with no office or legal authority, without any order or warrant, came to the meeting in John's-street, with a rabble of people attending him, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the attendant rabble to seize whom he pleased: He then applied to the constable, and with menaces obliged him to go with him: Of those he had ordered to be seized he selected five, and had them carried before a justice, who committed them to prison. Some days after he came again to the same meeting place, and because the persons assembled would not depart at his command, he struck several of them with his cane, and then charged the constable, whom he had brought with him, with as many of them as he thought proper, amongst whom was John Crook, who before his conviction had been a justice of peace; they being taken before a justice, he took their words to come to him next morning, which they did, when he ordered them to appear before the justices, then sitting at Hicks's-hall, who committed nine of them to Newgate.

They

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Commence-  
ment of ex-  
ecuting the  
act.

Rude and  
illegal be-  
haviour of  
Ph. Millar.





CHAP.

V.

1662.

Remark.

Trial of  
John Crook  
and others.Not prosecuted on the  
late act.

Thus we see the apprehension of those of this society, who appeared at the house of commons, against this law, that, if passed into an act, rude and unprincipled persons might take occasion to abuse them beyond law, was not visionary; and of such-like illegal treatment we meet with numerous instances. Next let us take a view what satisfaction they received for their false imprisonment, as a specimen of the kind of justice dispensed in this reign.

John Crook and others being brought before the justices at Hick's-hall, and on their examination pointing out the illegality of their apprehension without warrant, and the proceedings thereupon, were notwithstanding committed to prison. An indictment was drawn up against them, upon the late act against Quakers; after which they were removed to Newgate in order to their trial at the Old Bailey. On the 25th of the month called June, three of them were selected to begin with, viz. John Crook, termed gentleman, Isaac Grey, physician, and John Bolton, goldsmith, men of property and character, who notwithstanding, as the first symptom of the disposition of the court, were now ranked with the vilest criminals, being thrust into the baledock amongst felons and murderers; from whence John Crook being called to the bar, instead of being charged with any crime, or any indictment upon the late act, it seems a surer and severer method of crimination had been concerted. The judge began with the following question:

*Judge.* When did you take the oath of allegiance?

*John Crook.* I have been six weeks in prison, and am I now called to accuse myself? which you ought



ought not to put me upon. Nemo debet seipsum C H A P.  
accusare. I am an Englishman, and by the law V.  
of England I ought not to be taken or imprisoned, 1662.  
nor disseized of my freehold, nor called in ques-  
tion, nor put to answer, but according to the law  
of the land. I stand here at this bar as a de-  
linquent, and do desire that my accuser may be  
brought forth, and then I shall answer to my  
charge, if any I be guilty of.

*Judge.* You are here demanded to take the Required to  
take an  
oath.  
oath of allegiance, and when you have done that,  
you shall be heard about the other, for we have  
power to tender it to any man.

*John Crook.* Not to me upon this occasion, in  
this place, for I am brought hither as an offender  
already, and not to be made an offender here, or  
be obliged to criminate myself. I challenge the  
benefits of the laws of England; for by them is a  
better inheritance derived to me as an English-  
man, than that which I received from my pa-  
rents; for by the former the latter is secured:  
'This the 29th chapter of magna charta, the peti-  
tion of right of Car. I. and other good laws of  
England have confirmed; therefore, in claiming  
the benefit of them, I demand no more than my  
right. And you that are judges on the bench  
ought to be my council, and not my accusers,  
but to instruct me in the benefit of the laws, that  
I may not, through ignorance, lose any advan-  
tage, which the laws of my country afford me, as  
an Englishman.

*C. Judge.* We sit here to do justice, and are  
upon our oaths \*; and we are to tell you what is  
law,

\* This chief judge would have done well seriously to consi-  
der, while he was preparing and predetermined to punish ho-  
nest



CHAP. law, and not you us : Therefore, sirrah, you are  
V. too bold.

1662.

*John Crook.* Sirrah is not a word for a judge : I am no felon, neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar. For I stand here as arraigned for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children and outward estate : Therefore I have a right to be fully heard, what I can say in my own defence, according to law ; and I hope the court will bear with me, if I take the freedom to assert my liberty as an Englishman and a christian ; if I speak loud, it is from zeal for the truth ; and mine innocency makes me bold. Let me see my accuser, that I may know for what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not put me to accuse myself by asking me questions. Let my accuser come forth, or else discharge me by proclamation, as you ought to do.

*Judge Twisden.* We take no notice of your being here, otherwise than as of a straggler, or as of any other person, or of the people that are here this day ; for we may tender the oath to any man.

nest men, merely for a religious scruple to take an oath, by the severest law he could take hold of ; and which without any real occasion he put to them, because he knew for conscience-sake they could not take it, in order to criminate them, and put it out of their power to seek justice for their false imprisonment, if they had been so inclined : Whether was a greater enormity to refuse taking an oath, or to take oaths, and afterwards pay no regard to the obligation thereof ? I suppose that taken by a judge must be to do justice, without favour or affection, enmity or ill-will, without respect of persons ; which, how far this was regarded in this trial, let the reader judge. Judge's Oath, —“ You shall do equal law and execution of right to all his subjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any person.”





man. This was seconded by another judge: And the chief judge, in the process of the trial, expressed himself thus: We look not upon what you are here for; but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

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The judges persisting in the oath being administered, John Crook enquired by what law they had power to tender it? and was answered by the third of King James; John Crook demurring, desired the statute might be read, that it might appear upon what occasion, and against whom it was made, but this would not be admitted, and his objection was over-ruled.

The prisoners were remanded to prison, and brought into court again next day, when they were demanded again to take the oath; but still insisting on the plea that they ought to be first tried and convicted upon the cause of their imprisonment, the judge was provoked to transgress the bounds of decency so far, as to call John Crook a faucy and impudent fellow.

In the afternoon of the same day they were again brought to the bar, and a new indictment for refusing to take the oath of allegiance having been drawn up, they were required to plead to it, guilty, or not guilty; to which objecting, as not being satisfied whether they ought to plead to a created offence, and thereby acquiesce in the introduction of a precedent of an unusual proceeding in courts of judicature, and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; as also whether their pleading would not deprive them of the benefit of the law, and quashing the indictment, or making exceptions against it; and being informed it would not, they pleaded in such form as their scrupulous consciences would permit, that they were

not



CHAP. V. not guilty of what was false in the indictment, which was the substance thereof; which at last was accepted.

1662.

3d day's trial.

First jury discharged, and a new jury picked for their trial.

The prisoners move for time to traverse the indictment, and are refused.

Next day being brought to their trial, the jury, who had been present, and witnesses of the previous proceedings, were discharged; a new jury was empannelled (as was said) on purpose for their trial. In this jury were divers soldiers, some of whom had been actually concerned in offering illegal violence to this society, by haling some out of their meetings or out of their houses. So that they had no better quarter to expect from their jury than their judges; the indictment being read, they moved to have the trial put off till next quarter sessions, to traverse the indictment, it being long and in Latin, and like to be a precedent, and that having no copy of the indictment till that morning, and then suddenly hurried down to the sessions, they were neither allowed time to advise with counsel, nor to be prepared (as to matter of law) to plead in their own defence. To this reasonable request the judge replied, We have given you time enough, and you shall have no more, for we will try you at this time, therefore swear the jury. The prisoners remonstrating against the swearing of the jury till this point was properly discussed, and they were heard in their own defence, the court fell into confusion, during which the prisoners were hurried about in consequence of the confused orders of the court to the officers; some crying, take them away; others, stay, let them alone; some to put them in the bale-dock; others within the farthest bar, whither they were thrust accordingly: during this confusion and uproar some cried, go on to swear the jury, which the crier seemed to be about; but



but such was the tumult in court and distance of the prisoners, that they could not distinctly tell what was doing: during the confusion also the evidence (they supposed) was given, that they refused to take the oath, which they had not positively done; These arbitrary proceedings occasioning the prisoners, with just reason, to complain; the executioner, as often as they attempted to speak, was ordered to stop their mouths, which he repeatedly did with a dirty cloth; and having a gag in his hand, endeavoured to gag John Crook and others. Upon this they cried out, Will you not give us leave to speak? we except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and of those who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, and carried us to prison without warrant or legal process; and must these be our judges? we except against them.

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1662.

The jury sworn and evidence given out of hearing of the prisoners.

Threatened to be gagged.

*Judge.* It is too late now, you should have done it before they had been sworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find is, whether they have refused to take the oath, which hath been sworn before you that they did: you need not go from the bar. The like said the recorder and others, the confusion and noise continuing, and several speaking together.

The prisoners demanded their privilege to make their defence before the jury brought in their verdict, but this was refused them, the chief judge having remarked, that "if the Quakers had liberty to speak, they would make themselves famous, and their judges odious;" instead of guarding the subjects rights, they had recourse to their usual exclamation, "Stop their mouths, executioner," which he did with his dirty cloth,

The prisoners demand to be heard, refused.

as





CHAP. as before. Yet when the jury was ordered to  
 V. give in their verdict, John Crook took the opportunity to express himself finally thus, " Let me  
 1662. " have liberty first to speak, it is but few words,  
 " and I hope I shall do it with what brevity and  
 " pertinency my understanding will give me  
 " leave, and the occasion requires ; it is to the  
 " point of these two heads, *matter of law, and*  
 " *matter of conscience.* To matter of law I have  
 " this to say, the statute by which you proceed  
 " against us was made against papists, occasioned  
 " by the gun-powder plot, and is entitled, for  
 " the better discovery and suppressing of popish  
 " recusants ; but they have liberty, and we are  
 " destroyed, what in you lies," (this pinch produced an interruption from the court) " As to  
 " conscience, I have something to say, it is a  
 " tender thing, and we have known what it is  
 " to offend it ; and therefore we dare not break  
 " Christ's command, who said, *swear not at all ;*  
 " as also the apostle James's, *above all things, my*  
 " *brethren, swear not.*" Interrupted again with  
 " executioner, stop his mouth." Then the  
 judge called to hear the jury, who said something  
 which the prisoners could not hear, but was supposed to be giving in the verdict according to the  
 judges' orders, for they were fit for the purpose,  
 having seemingly agreed upon their verdict, before they heard the prisoner's defence.

Then silence being proclaimed, the recorder taking a paper in his hand, read to the following purpose, viz.

Sentence of  
 premunire.

" The jury for the king do find that John  
 " Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Grey, are  
 " guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance,  
 " for which you do incur a premunire, which is  
 " the



“ the forfeiture of all your real estates during  
 “ life, and your personal estates for ever, and  
 “ you to be out of the king’s protection, and to  
 “ be imprisoned during his pleasure. And this  
 “ is your sentence.” John Crook replied, “ We  
 “ are still under God’s protection.”

C H A P.

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The Court was adjourned, and the prisoners remanded to Newgate.

Such a mockery of justice as this trial exhibits, Remark.  
 I trust, for the reputation and honour of the nation, our history affords few or no instances at this day. It demonstrates, beyond the power of all apologies to palliate, that the government of England at this æra, was as arbitrary to the dissenters in general, and particularly the quakers, as any other absolute government whatsoever. We are here presented with an instance of natural-born subjects, who had violated no duty, committed no crime, contrived no sedition, neither broken the peace, nor disturbed the government, deprived of their birth-right in the charters of the Englishman’s liberty, confirmed by the most binding ratifications, as the perpetual and inviolable privileges of the people of England. Magna charta and the petition of rights infringed;—subjects illegally imprisoned: brought to trial, and no crime charged upon them: The court of judicature turned into an inquisition to make them criminate themselves, and to deprive them of the means of demanding legal satisfaction for injury sustained: Persons of property abused, not allowed to speak in their own defence; stripped at once of their personal liberty and all their property; time to traverse the indictment till the next sessions refused men upon trial for their liberty and property, although ordinarily granted  
in



CHAP. V. in case of trespass to the value of 5s. the errors whereof were sufficient to quash it: Just exceptions to jurymen evaded by artifice. And all this only because they could not reverence the devices of bishops and convocations as gospel, or blindly devote themselves to the instructions of a priesthood, who were, for the major part, themselves more devoted to the court, to a party, and to their own interest and preferment, than to the pure ministry of the gospel; and because they durst not disobey the command of Christ.

Prisoners' estates seized.

John Crook draws up a narrative of the trial.

Prisoners set at liberty.

Immediately after the aforesaid unjust and severe sentence was passed, the prisoners' estates were seized on. During their imprisonment, John Crook drew up a narrative of their trial, and committed it to the press, that the king and the nation might not be ignorant of the measures now pursued, and their tendency to despotism and the ruin of the subject; which narrative is preserved at length in Sewel's History, p. 358, &c. and Besse's Collection of Sufferings, p. 369, &c. from which the foregoing abridged account is abstracted. On the 23d of the following month (as was supposed by order from the king) they were set at liberty by the jailer; but two days afterward, John Bolton and Isaac Grey were taken again by the jailer's servants, and carried back to prison; (John Crook being gone to the country and not to be found) how long they were detained there, or how or when discharged, we have no account.

It was one argument advanced by George Whitehead, in his pleading against the late act, that as there were divers laws before, whereby the Quakers were brought under grievous sufferings, as this particularly of 3. Jac. for the oath of





of allegiance, &c. and that therefore to make a new law, particularly pointed at them on that account, was not only superfluous, but adding grievance to grievance upon a body of people already under heavy oppression, against whom nothing worthy of suffering had been proved. And seeing in the first succeeding instance, the new law was not enforced; but an old law made against popish recusants, and them only, perverted to the punishment of innocent men, while those against whom it was made, were left unmolested and encouraged. It seems the legislature and ministers of the law had no meaning by new laws to supersede the old, or let them lie dormant; but to keep them all in force, in order to persecute in the severest manner all ranks of this people.

Such was the disposition of those who had the power in their hands at this time, the bishops, the legislature, judges, justices, ecclesiasticks and laicks to extirpate this society; that under the pressure of afflictions and calamities the most feelingly distressing to mankind, and the apprehension of more to come, there seemed for them no human help; yet trusting in that divine Being, for the serving and obeying of whom in the sincerity of their hearts, they were persecuted, and supported through all by the testimony of an approving conscience, they firmly bore the utmost malice of their persecutors without shrinking; by their constancy they even wearied them out, and at last by patient suffering attained quietude; but at present they were only at the beginning of sorrows; they had many close trials of their faith, and a long fight of afflictions to sustain, before their patience could get the better of the resentments and virulence of their adversaries.

Neither

CHAP.  
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1662.

Reflection  
on the hard-  
ships attend-  
ing this so-  
ciety, and  
their con-  
stancy un-  
der them.



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Neither is this a singular case, but seems, on account of the severity of the penalty, a preconcerted mode of proceeding at present and several years after, frequently adopted against such of this body as appeared most considerable for their services or estates, contrary to equity or reasonable construction of law, to apply a partial law for the better discovery of popish recusants, in consequence of a desperate enterprize concerted by some of that class only, at the distance of two reigns<sup>d</sup>, to the punishment of men the most remote from that denomination, and who neither had, nor, I believe, were even suspected to have any concern in any plot whatever.

<sup>e</sup> In the next month at the assizes of Worcester, Robert Smith was likewise indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, having been imprisoned in like manner with those before mentioned; and when he was brought to the bar, demanded also the cause of his imprisonment for five or six weeks, in reply to the judge's enquiry, "When did you take the oath of allegiance?" The judge's answer was, "I meddle not with your imprisonment, but finding you here, I tender you the oath of allegiance; will you take it or no? I tell you the danger that will follow: You will incur a premunire, and forfeit your estate to the King.

*R. Smith.* Who was that law made for, the papists or us?

*Judge.* For both.

*R. Smith.* Why then is it not tendered to them, as well as us?

*Judge.* They have taken it already.

*R. Smith.*

Trial of  
Robert  
Smith at  
Worcester  
for refusing  
to take the  
oath of al-  
legiance.

<sup>d</sup> Bessé.

<sup>e</sup> Bessé.



*R. Smith.* Suppose I find some papists, or C H A P. V.  
popishly affected, on the bench, shall it be done  
to them? 1662.

*Judge.* They have done it already.

*R. Smith.* Let us and the people see, that we may be satisfied.

*Judge.* Will you take the oath or not? Other-  
wise we will record your refusal, and call you  
again to-morrow, and on your second refusal re-  
cord it also, and pass sentence of premunire upon  
you.—Accordingly the next day the like sen- Sentence of  
premunire  
passed upon  
him.  
tence was passed upon him, as J. Crook and com-  
panions, to which he replied, “The Lord gives,  
“ and if he permits to take away, the will of the  
“ Lord be done.”

Thus with christian meekness and patient re-  
signation to the divine will, R. Smith receiv-  
ed the severe sentence of premunire, under which  
he lay close confined in prison near ten years. Under  
which he is  
continued a  
prisoner  
near ten  
years.  
About three days after sentence given, the she-  
riff made a seizure of his personal estate for the  
king, and took an inventory of the same to the  
minuteest article.

Thomas Stordy being at Carlisle assizes, went Thomas  
Stordy.  
to visit some of his friends in prison there, where  
he was illegally detained by the jailer; and the  
next day he, with Stephen Pearson, then a pri-  
soner, was taken to the sessions’ house, where  
the oath of allegiance was tendered to them,  
which they refusing, were sent back to jail among  
the felons. Next day they were indicted on the He and S.  
Pearson in-  
dicted on  
the stat.  
3. Jac. and  
premunir-  
ed.  
aforesaid statute of 3. Jac. and had the sentence  
of premunire past upon them. Soon after the  
sheriff seized their corn, cattle and other goods,  
and proclaimed a publick sale of them, at which  
they were sold far below the value, because few  
Vol. I. L I cared





CHAP. V.   
 1662.   
 cared to buy them, as esteeming them no better than plunder: However, they were disposed of and carried away, without any regard to the prisoners or their families; nor would the sheriff, upon application, even allow any thing to the poor labourers, who had been employed in gathering in the corn, and the price of whose labour lay therein, as their employers, now plundered of their all, were disabled from paying them. Under this hard sentence, they were continued close prisoners several years, enduring their heavy suffering with exemplary patience, being under their afflictions supported by the testimony of a good conscience, in their obedience to the precept of Christ, *Swear not at all.*

John King and others appearing to answer a process for not attending the national worship, are prosecuted and premunired on the said statute.

\* At the quarter sessions at Hertford in October this year, John King, Richard Thomas, Abraham Rutt and Henry Sweeting, appeared to answer a process against them for absence from the national worship, when one of the justices, a counsellor, made an invective against the Quakers and their meetings, as dangerous and formidable, whereupon the bench let the first process stop, and tendered them the oath of allegiance on the first day of the sessions, giving them time till next morning to consider whether they would take it or not; telling them, that if they refused they would incur a premunire. Next morning they appeared again, and refusing to take it, they were immediately indicted, found guilty, and had sentence of premunire passed upon them.—Under this cruel sentence they were returned to prison, and close confined during a sharp winter, whereby their health was much impaired. At the



the same sessions an order was issued to the sheriff to seize all the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of the prisoners; the execution of which order was prevented by timely application to the King, and the prisoners, after thirty-one weeks confinement, were released by the King's warrant.

CHAP.

V.

1662.

Their lands  
&c. seized,  
but on ap-  
plication to  
the King  
restored,  
and their  
liberty  
also.

In Suffex, Ambrose Rigge was committed to prison, indicted next assizes, tried immediately, and sentence of premunire passed upon him, by which he was adjudged to lose all his lands and tenements during life, his goods and chattels for ever, and suffer imprisonment during the King's pleasure. Upon that sentence he was kept in prison ten years and four months.

Ambrose  
Rigge.

To recite all the hard and illicit treatment this society met with by the misapplication of this law, and how many of them suffered the loss of all their substance, personal liberty and protection of law, by premunires during the present year, would carry me far beyond my bounds, and might disgust the reader in a tedious detail of similar cases. But the treatment of Thomas Goodyear and Benjamin Staples at the quarter sessions at Oxford in the preceding year demands

Thomas  
Goodyear  
and Benja-  
min Staples.

particular notice. After receiving the sentence of premunire on the like account, Thomas Goodyear, who was brought like a common malefactor with bolts on his legs, asking the court, "Whether the jailer had orders to fetter him?" was answered, "the jailer may do as he will with you, for you are out of the King's protection." The jailer, encouraged in obduracy (habitual, it is probable, in him) by the example of his superiors, when he brought them back to prison, told the other prisoners, "that if they



CHAP. "wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their  
V. "backs, for they can have no law against you :"

~~~~~  
1662. But one of the prisoners humanely answered,
*He would rather go naked than strip honest men
of their clothes, who were stripped of all they had
beside.*

C H A P. VI.

*Several tried on the Act 35 2. Elizabeth, in order
to Banishment on pain of death.—George Fox
presents an Address to the King, informing him of
the Sufferings of his Friends.—Five hundred
imprisoned in London, of whom many died.—Re-
markable Petition to the Mayor.—Great Abuses
of the Soldiers and Trained Bands.—Particu-
larly at the Bull and Mouth.—Sessions at the
Old Baily.—General Release of Prisoners by
Order of the King.—Persecution continued.—
Wheeler-street Meeting broken up.—The Assem-
bly at Bull and Mouth shamefully abused, where-
by many are grievously wounded, and one [John
Trowell] dies of his Wounds. The Coroner's
Inquest being empannelled to enquire into the Cause
of his Death, decline bringing in a Verdict.—An
Account of this Murder presented to the King.—
And to the Lord Mayor (so called)—The Au-
thor of the Narrative committed to Newgate.*

CHAP. **W**HAT measures more arbitrary and inhu-
VI. man could the utmost malice of man invent, short
~~~~~  
1662. of capital punishment, than those now vainly pur-  
sued to exterminate this body of people. Nay,  
it may be a question whether at once taking  
away





away their lives had not been a lighter punishment, than condemning men of repute, who had been inured to a comfortable way of living, on competent estates or by laudable industry, to languish out their days in noisome jails; robbed of their property; they and their families reduced to want; deprived of all company, but the refuse of mankind, and of every thing that makes life tolerable, except the testimony of a good conscience, which their persecutor's power could not reach.

Yet as if all this were not sufficient to gratify the ill will of their enemies, it was even attempted at this time to bring their lives into danger. As we have just described the mode adopted for making men offenders against the first part of the late act, viz. the case of oaths, I proceed to the first trial I meet with upon the second part thereof, the attendance of their religious assemblies. These were not tried upon the late act, but upon that of 35 Elizabeth, as the more severe, and the severest they could lay hold of, because it gave power to proceed to banishment and to endanger life at once; whereas by the latter they could not have that power till the third offence.

Several persons, taken from their religious meetings and committed to the White-Lyon prison, Southwark, after about nine weeks imprisonment, were brought to their trial before Richard Onslow, president of the sessions and others, and arraigned upon the following indictment.

“ The jurors for our lord the King do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave in the borough of Southwark in the county of Surry, yeoman;  
 “ Nathaniel

CHAP. VI.  
 1662.  
 Several tried upon the act of 35 Eliz. in order to banishment on pain of death.



CHAP. " Nathaniel Robinson of the same, yeoman;  
 VI. " John Chandler of the same yeoman, and others,  
 1662. " being wicked, dangerous and seditious secta-  
 " ries, and disloyal persons, and above the age  
 " of sixteen years, who, on the 29th day of  
 " June in the year of our Lord Charles the se-  
 " cond, by the grace of God, King of England,  
 " Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. the four-  
 " teenth, have obstinately refused; and every  
 " one of them hath obstinately refused to repair  
 " unto some church, chapel, or usual place of  
 " common prayer, according to the laws and  
 " statutes of this kingdom of England, in the  
 " like case set forth and provided, after forty  
 " days next after the end of the session of par-  
 " liament begun and holden at Westminster on  
 " the 19th day of February in the year of our  
 " Lady Elizabeth late Queen of England, the  
 " thirty fifth, and there continued until the disso-  
 " lution of the same, being the tenth day of  
 " April in the 35th year above said, to wit, on  
 " the 3d day of August in the year of the reign  
 " of the said Charles King of England the four-  
 " teenth abovesaid in the parish of St. Olave  
 " aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark afore-  
 " said, in the county aforesaid; of themselves  
 " did voluntarily and unlawfully join in and  
 " were present at an unlawful assembly, con-  
 " venticle and meeting at the said parish of St.  
 " Olave in the county aforesaid, under colour  
 " and pretence of the exercise of religion, against  
 " the laws and statutes of this kingdom of Eng-  
 " land, in contempt of our said Lord the King  
 " that now is, his laws and to the evil and dan-  
 " gerous example of all others in the like case,  
 " offending against the peace of our said Lord  
 " the King that now is, his crown and dignity,  
 " and



“ and contrary to the form of the statute in the C H A P.  
 “ same case set forth and provided.” VI.

1662.

The indictment being read, the prisoners desired to be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles; but were answered they might try them by what law they would, that was in force. Then the prisoners desired the act they were to be tried by might be read, viz. that of 35 of Elizabeth, which was done only in part. They observing, in regard thereto, that it was made in times of ignorance, whilst the principles of the reformation, and of civil and religious rights, were not yet well understood, and that therefore they accounted themselves unjustly dealt with, in having obsolete laws that had been long suffered to lie dormant, revived for the mere purpose of subjecting them to the heaviest punishment that could be devised. The answer they received was a requisition to plead to the indictment, and some not being hasty to answer, were haled out of court to prison, as taken pro confessis. The rest, being twenty in number, pleaded not guilty. The jury was called over, and they excepted against two, one of which was set aside, having openly expressed his ill-will towards the Quakers: the witnesses testified at most that in such a place they took such persons, whose names were specified in writing. In their defence against the facts charged in the indictment, they asserted, that whereas they were accused of being wicked, dangerous and seditious sectaries, that was not true; for they were neither wicked nor seditious, but such as endeavoured to lead a peaceable and quiet life in godliness and honesty. For the truth whereof they durst appeal to themselves. And the charge of  
not





CHAP.

VI.

1662.

not coming to hear the common prayer was highly preposterous, as the service-book was not quite printed several weeks after the said 29th of June, and what crime could it be, not to go hear that which at that time, was not to be heard any where. The court was considerably embarrassed by this, and other pinching reasons advanced by the prisoners, some of whom were men of abilities and literature, to that degree that the judge was at a loss to answer them only by shifts and evasions. When the jury went out to consider of their verdict, one of them was heard to say, as they were going up, *Here is a deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men.*

After some time they returned, and brought in their verdict guilty in part, and not guilty in part; but this verdict would not be accepted; so being sent out again, prevailing upon one another, they soon returned and declared the prisoners guilty. Whereupon judge Onslow pronounced the following sentence: "That they should return to prison, and there continue three months without bail or mainprize, after which time, if they recanted not, they must abjure the realm, or be proceeded against as felons."

Just before passing the sentence, the judge signified there was a means to escape the penalty, viz. "submission;" that is, "to come to common prayer, and refrain their meetings." To which giving their reasons for the refusal of both, he said, "then you must abjure the land." It being remarked that *abjure* meant *to forswear*, one of the justices scoffingly added, "*and you can't swear at all;*" either barbarously sporting



sporting himself in other mens' misery, or wantonly exulting in the prospect, that they must of course incur the penalties of felony.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1662.

At a sessions at the same place on the 11th of November, thirteen more of the prisoners were brought to the bar, and indicted as before; five of them pleading not guilty, were tried, convicted and sentenced as the former; the other eight seeing the court so partial that a fair hearing could not be expected, refused to plead and were sent back to prison.

It hath been before remarked, that the instances of enforcing this law were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of prosecution, as the full enforcing thereof must terminate in public executions, and it is likely, the ministers and principal promoters of these severities did not chuse to incur the odium or the guilt of inflicting capital punishment merely for religion, as there had been few precedents since the reformation, except where some pretext of treason or sedition could be picked up to palliate the severity: Yet the justices and inferior magistrates, being most of them invested with authority on account of their bitterness against non-conformists, seemed disposed in some cases to put this statute fully in force, but for the intervention of higher authority. It was however kept alive, and repeated menaces thrown out of enforcing it in *terrorem*; but the proceedings thereon generally terminated in arbitrary imprisonment, frequently till a release came by proclamation or pardon; a punishment severe enough.

Such



CHAP.  
VI.

1662.

G. Fox presents an address to the King, informing him of the sufferings of his friends.

Such was the universality of party rage at this time against this people, that they were left unmolested in few or no parts of the nation.

George Fox, in an address to the king, acquaints him that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, their friends thrown into the water, \* and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, relating that upwards of four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison, specifying the number in each county, and upon what account. Many of these had been grievously abused with beatings, tearing their clothes, and taking them away. Some put into such noisome prisons as were owned not fit for dogs. Some prisons so crowded that the prisoners had not room to sit down all together. In Cheshire sixty-eight persons were thus locked up in a small room. No age or sex found any commiseration from the ill-principled magistrates of this reign. Men of sixty, seventy or more years of age, were without pity or remorse subjected

\* About the 3d of October, 1660, a constable and others armed with pitchforks, bills, staves and such like weapons, entered a meeting at Steventon in Berkshire, pulled out Thomas Curtis and threw him into a pond, tearing his coat in pieces: With the like barbarity they used several others, sparing neither age nor sex. One of them was trodden on and kept down in the water till some of their own company cried out, *you'll drown the man*. After which they drove the innocent people along the highway, inhumanly abusing and bemiring them. This abuse was said to be given them at the instigation of a drunken priest, who being told, *that his weapons ought to be spiritual*, replied that *he would fight the Quakers with such weapons as he had*.





jected to all the rigours of such imprisonments under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these.

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1662.

In London and its suburbs were no fewer than five hundred imprisoned at this time, and some in such narrow holes that every person had scarcely convenient room to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. In consequence many grew sick, and some died. Amongst them were many poor men, whose families were exposed to want, their customers lost and their trades ruined; those multiplied hardships, which moved little or no compassion in magistrates, who seem steeled against all the feelings of men, were so sensibly felt with true brotherly affection and sympathy by several of their fellow-members, that about thirty of them, who were at liberty, presented a petition to the mayor and sheriffs of London, offering themselves, if no other means of relief could be found, to lie in prison instead of the sick and the poorest of the prisoners, that they might have liberty to go about their necessary occasions for a few weeks to retrieve their business, and rescue themselves and families from impending ruin; which though not so legal as to be accepted, yet demonstrates the affection of those that made the offer, and conveyed to the magistrates such a lively representation of the disastrous consequences of their merciless usage, as must have inclined men, who had the least remains of humanity left, to mitigate the severity

Five hundred imprisoned in London, of whom many died.

Petition to the mayor.



CHAP.  
VI.

1662.

Great abuses of the  
soldiers and  
trained  
bands.Particularly  
at the Bull  
and Mouth.

rity of their proceedings, but with the men now in authority it had no such effect.

Those who were left at liberty had but a very precarious enjoyment thereof, being daily in danger of following their friends to prison for the same cause, keeping up their religious assemblies from a religious persuasion of duty to their Maker; yet whilst they were at liberty, they were not suffered to be at ease, the soldiers and trained-bands, by the encouragement of the magistracy, were let loose upon them, to beat, to bruise, to wound them nigh unto, and even quite unto death; so that in the city of London, and divers other parts, the treatment of this people bore more the appearance of the French dragoonings of those called Hugonots, than the metropolis of England, entitled to the privilege of a constitution limited to legal rule; and looks as if, by accumulated abuses, they designed to provoke them to some act of resistance, which might furnish a pretence for proceeding against them as rioters and seditious, which when they could not do, they termed their peaceable meetings riots, and thereupon indicted and punished the attenders as such.

The meeting, distinguished by the name of Bull and Mouth, being near the center of the city, was particularly exposed to the tumultuous intrusions of these disturbers of the peace (for they were employed for no other purpose, by magistrates who were bound by their office and oaths to preserve it.) To this meeting the soldiers came several first days successively, with muskets, lighted matches, pikes and halberts, conducted by a military officer, with his sword drawn in one hand and a cane in the other; they



they usually made their entrance with violent rushing and uproar to terrify the assembly, commanding the people assembled to be gone; which when they were not hasty to do, as believing themselves in the way of their duty, and those who gave the command invested with no legal authority; then they began the shameful attack with their canes and clubs upon the unresisting people, unmanfully beating women as well as men, for they spared no age nor sex, but laid on their blows with great force, not only wounding their bodies with their blows, but their ears with scoffs, menaces, oaths and imprecations, and threatening *to fire at them*; this treatment they continued at one time about two hours, striking them with swords, staves and the butts of their muskets, and haling them out of doors; by such violence many were grievously wounded, some fainted away, and some survived it but a short time.

When they had wearied themselves by these acts of violence, they generally added the preacher, if they found one, and as many of the hearers as they thought fit, to the number already imprisoned.

On the 12th, 13th and 14th days of the month called August, the sessions were held again at the Old Bailey, to which, numbers of the Quakers were brought as malefactors through the streets, sometimes twelve sometimes twenty in a company. This seemed to turn the tide of the public temper into compassion, the people exclaiming as they passed along, "Ah! what woeful days are these! what pity it is that such honest people with such good countenances should be haled up and down to courts and prisons?"

Their





CHAP. VI. Their trials were conducted in the accustomed manner; the bench and jury prepared to convict them, the witnesses, those men who ought to have been substituted in their places for breach of the peace, being mostly the officers who had commanded the party that had abused them, called as witnesses against the very persons whom themselves also had stricken and dragged out of their meetings with violence: it was remarked that these witnesses hesitated, and even contradicted themselves: one being asked by the judge, "Are you certain these are the persons you took at that meeting," replied, "My lord, I don't know the faces of the men, but these mens' names I have in a note here." Yet such was the temper of the court and of the jury, that this defective evidence was accepted as sufficient to convict them; upon which they were sentenced in fines, some one hundred marks, some twenty pounds, and others in less sums, and committed again till they should pay the fines. Against several no evidence appeared, yet they were not discharged, but sent back to prison with the rest.

General release of prisoners.

It was not long however before they met with an unexpected release, for before the end of the month the King was pleased to grant them a general amnesty, by an order to the mayor, to the following purport: "That whereas divers persons going under the name of Quakers, and other names of separation, were imprisoned for being at unlawful meetings, yet did profess all obedience to him, and it was hoped that for the time to come some of the said people would conform themselves; and upon the occasion of his royal consort's coming



“ing to his palace at Whitehall, he would have  
 “them discharge and enlarge all the said people  
 “out of the jails of London and Middlesex, ex-  
 “cepting such as had been indicted for refusing  
 “the oaths of allegiance, or were ringleaders or  
 “preachers among them.”

C H A P.  
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 1662.

In pursuance of this order all that had been committed by Sir Richard Brown and others were released, and the jails of London and Middlesex almost entirely cleared of Quakers, a few only excepted; but in a short time were filled again, for the King's mandate for their release gave little or no interruption to the persecuting measures carried on against them. Their meetings continued to be disturbed in like manner as is before related, even with an additional degree of violence.

Persecution continued.

The very next day after the publication of the King's letter the meeting at Wheeler-street was broken up in the same abusive manner, and nine persons taken and sent to New-prison, whence after a detention of twelve days they were released. The same day Sir Richard Brown, in company with some military officers, meeting a person in the street going about his lawful occasions, who had been discharged from Newgate the day before by the King's letter, called out, *There's a Quaker, take him up and carry him to the counter*, which by his attendants was accordingly done; and he, thus arbitrarily committed, was detained for some time.

Wheeler-street meeting broken up.

On the last day of the month called August, when the meeting at Bull and Mouth was near breaking up, Major-general Brown with a party of men entered the meeting-house, with their swords drawn, in a manner rude and terrifying beyond

The assembly at the Bull and Mouth shamefully abused.



CHAP. VI. beyond expression, and ordering *the doors to be made fast*, fell upon the assembly with their swords and cudgels in such an unmerciful and unmanly manner, without regard to age or sex, cutting, bruising and levelling those before them, as carried an appearance of open hostility, beyond what had ever been seen in a time of peace. Six or eight together being knocked down were dragged out, and lay in the kennels senseless, helpless, and seemingly half dead with the wounds and bruises they had received, their blood lying visible in the streets, so that the passengers and spectators, compassionating this abuse of unoffending people, cried out, Shame upon the perpetrators, that such a resemblance of massacre should be committed in the streets of London; some of whom, for their compassionate expressions, felt their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked, why they could be so cruel to their neighbours? One of them answered, Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his musquet was double charged, as most of those of the party were to his knowledge\*.

In consequence of this barbarous treatment several were ready to faint through loss of blood;  
many

\* This looks as if some of the persecutors had suffered their spirits to be imbibed to so intemperate a degree as to thirst for blood, as intending by this cruel usage to provoke some of this body to some act of resistance, and then make it a pretext for carnage and massacre. But I own myself at a loss to conceive what motive (except insatiable malice) any could have even to meditate such cruelty, which no attempts of this body, nor any security to government gave the least shadow of occasion for.





many so disabled as to keep their beds some time; one man so wounded in the head that his brains were said to be visible, and being immediately taken to a surgeon, his life was thought to be in the utmost danger; and one John Trowel actually dying by the wounds and bruises he received there, it was judged expedient that his dead body should be conveyed to the meeting room at Bull and Mouth, where he received the violence which occasioned his death, for public inspection. The coroner being called, empanelled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them the usual charge, to make true enquiry, and present upon their oaths what they found to be the cause of his death. The jury accordingly viewed the body, with a surgeon or two attending them. It was evident the man was murdered by some or other of the trained bands; but as in the confused crowd the particular man who murdered him could not be pointed out, the jury desired his friends to enter the corps, and departed without bringing in a verdict, alledging as their reason, that if they brought in a verdict of wilful murder, and the murderer could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine; the verdict was therefore suspended, and the business dropped. An account of that day's barbarity and this person's murder was presented to the king by one of those called Quakers, to whom the king expressed, "I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them;" but to what purpose, whilst the magistrates of the city and ministers of justice were ranking themselves

C H A P.  
VI.

1662.

One man  
dies of his  
wounds.The coron-  
er's in-  
quest de-  
clines  
bringing in  
a verdict.An account  
of the mur-  
der present-  
ed to the  
King.



CHAPTER VI. in the number of their professed enemies. The mayor was by letter duly apprized of this transaction; but giving no redress, the said letter, with a narrative of these grievous abuses, was printed and published, for which the author was committed to Newgate by Brown, for dispersing scandalous papers, as he was pleased to call them.

VI.

1662.

and to the  
mayor,  
for which  
the author  
was impris-  
oned.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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# I N D E X

## TO THE

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## E R R A T U M.

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